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22 December 1982

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# West Europe Report

No. 2077

PREPARATORY DOCUMENTS  
FOR 16TH ITALIAN COMMUNIST  
PARTY CONGRESS

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## WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 2077

### PREPARATORY DOCUMENTS FOR 16TH ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

#### CONTENTS

##### POLITICAL

##### ITALY

Text of 16th PCI Congress Preparatory Document (L'UNITA, 28 Nov 82) .....	1
PCI Dismisses Cossutta's Congress Proposals (L'UNITA, 30 Nov 82) .....	58
Rejected Amendments to PCI Congress Document (L'UNITA, 30 Nov 82) .....	61
PCI Paper Cites, Comments on Cossutta Objections (L'UNITA, 1 Dec 82) .....	67

POLITICAL

ITALY

TEXT OF 16TH PCI CONGRESS PREPARATORY DOCUMENT

PM090915 Venice L'UNITA in Italian 28 Nov 82 pp 11-15

[Text of "Document Approved by PCI Central Committee and Central Control Commission, Which Will Form the Basis of the Debate for the 16th PCI Congress: The Proposal of an Alternative for Change"]

[Text] 1--The contemporary world faces crucial problems that reflect an outright change of era. They call into question--albeit to different extents and for different reasons--social systems, political mechanisms, forms of state and ways of life and of thinking.

The world is approaching the threshold of the year 2000, with mankind having achieved in this century progress never before achieved throughout its history. For the first time the conditions exist for freeing mankind from the constraints of basic needs in order to build the future consciously. However, worrying phenomena and regressive and even destructive thrusts have also accumulated.

The prime need is to gain clear cognizance of the real situation. The nature and scale of the problems now looming over us has changed. One only has to consider the following:

--The distortion introduced into historical development itself--to the extent of threatening extermination--by the frightening growth of all kinds of nuclear devices and weapons;

--The increasing imbalance between industrialized countries and underdeveloped areas, in which in less than 20 years' time 80 percent of all mankind will live;;

--The real limit starting to be reached by the present kind of development, partly because of the plundering and wastage of resources to the extent of despoiling nature and ruining the environment, and because of the new requirements that development itself has created and that it is no longer able to satisfy. We are confronted with tragic problems of famine and poverty in vast areas: new forms of adversity, such as those stemming from the increasing concentration of people in the urban peripheries; and the crisis of values capable of giving meaning to work and existence;

--The new scientific and technological revolution that is accelerating impressive restructuring processes, with the tendency to concentrate in a small group of states and multinational organizations control over the strategic sectors of development, from computer technology to microelectronics, from the sciences to mass communications and educational systems.

What emerges most prominently is the threat of war, which would in fact lead to the destruction of civilization. The most important task is therefore to safeguard peace. And everyone's efforts must be directed toward this supreme objective, working for coexistence and cooperation among countries with different social systems, for disarmament, for the relief of economically backward countries and to fight the struggles for the emancipation of the peoples and the oppressed masses on the solid ground of peace. The signs of an attenuation of international tensions apparent here and there are still uncertain and must be stimulated and encouraged in every possible way.

From the combination of processes just cited there emerges a tendency to concentrate in restricted and unaccountable areas powers essential to people's lives. Modern forms of alienation, oppression and manipulation of minds are occurring, not only in production activity in the strict sense, but also in the fields of knowledge, culture and common sense, and these conflict increasingly with the needs of millions of men, women and young people to have precise purposes for their own work and existence, to communicate with each other and to express their own personalities. But it would be mistaken--possibly even suicidal--to feel crushed by such serious dangers and such arduous tasks, without also seeing the forces that make it possible to tackle them.

In recent decades the world have seen the greatest movements of emancipation of the oppressed classes and of peoples' liberation; the colonial system has collapsed; the most diverse socialist-type experiences have spread to all the continents--experiences that must be critically reappraised and reformed, sometimes profoundly, but from which it is inconceivable to turn back. The women's movement, which has marked the culture, politics and customs of our time, has burst onto the scene, just as the struggles, movement and unrests of the younger generations have made themselves felt, albeit with varying degrees of validity. Together with the development of awareness, freer lifestyles have spread everywhere.

What is essential is to instill an awareness that the new forms of domination and distorted development are not inevitable processes dictated by an objective use of science and technology, as conservative and doom-mongering currents suggest. In fact a very broad range of forces can, as never before, use the gains of science and the propagation of culture and information to humanize work and to satisfy the requirements of freedom, creativity, security, peace and independence. This does not mean shifting the struggle for progress and socialism outside the field of class contradictions and production relations. What it does mean is understanding that we have reached the stage of historical development when the issue of transcending the capitalist system is becoming topical, partly because of the objective need to extend the bases of development and of the accumulation process. The old base, namely the exploitation of the labor force and the reduction of human work to the level

of a commodity, is becoming "a very paltry thing." If the intention is to impart a new thrust to development, new factors must be brought into play; together with science and culture, people's capacity to invent, to govern themselves and to decide. The issue of socialism, viewed as the process of liberating society and individuals, emerges once again as a historical necessity.

2--In the presence of such a framework, briefly outlined, many of the ideological disputes that have split the various currents of the left for decades seem obsolete and even anachronistic. It is no coincidence that even within the social democracies critical deliberations are emerging aimed at surmounting old barriers and forging links with ours and those of other leftwing forces. But this debate will be all the more fruitful the wider it extends its political and cultural horizons.

It is absurd to condemn the October Revolution and every great event that has imparted a turn to history and a thrust to the peoples' liberation struggles throughout the world. But it must be realized that even the countries that have broken away from capitalism and begun building societies inspired by socialism are involved in today's world crisis in various ways, both because of the world's essential unitariness and because of fundamental shortcomings and defects of the systems that have been realized. The significance of the successive crises, some of which have been tragic, is now clear: as long as we remain closed within authoritarian structures and methods and rigid ideological molds, we will not succeed in achieving the necessary creative innovations.

A new tide of confidence and hope in socialism cannot emerge if we try to conceal the undeniable crisis of particular experiences and unless their causes are removed by means of suitable processes of reform. It is therefore a matter of looking at reality without pretences, preconceptions or dogmas, because the more one proceeds from reality, that is, from the structures and problems of today's world, the more apparent is the need for a new kind of society in which people will be enabled to change the relationship between leaders and led, to regain control of their work and to direct production, science and education toward collective and humanitarian aims.

This is the basis of our proposal to help open up a new phase in the struggle for socialism, and this is the most fundamental reason for the political and ideological autonomy of a party such as the PCI.

3--In Western Europe conservative policies are already revealing the deplorable results to which they are leading--not only because of the unacceptable social costs but also because they exacerbate and combine unemployment and the financial crisis of the state, recession and inflation. This proves that the causes of the crisis are very profound, connected with the exhaustion of an entire kind of development which has lost essential internal and international conditions. Hence too the crisis of the social democratic policies and the emergence in these areas of critical reappraisals: social gains and democracy can no longer be defended solely with basically redistributive strategies that do not affect the accumulation process. The need is also

emerging, albeit still in confused and partial forms, to introduce a new kind of development and new structural and political reforms, in the direction of democratic monitoring of government and of social management of the economy. The social and political struggles are therefore becoming exacerbated, but the battle against the rightwing offensive can be won only if the leftwing forces succeed in offering new solutions and inspiring new hopes among the workers, cultural forces, women and young people. Europe is a great political laboratory--not only because of the wealth of its cultural, scientific and production heritage but also because of the quality and variety of the innovative experiences taking place in many parts of it. The leftwing parties that succeed in forging a link between a proposal for change and these thrusts and potentials are bound to establish themselves durably in Europe.

4--It is within this framework that the issue of Italy's future arises. The processes of economic and government restructuring worldwide are already leading to significant changes in the international hierarchies. U.S. policy is tending to hit Europe's economic influence and political role, to the extent of subordinating it.

In view of these processes Italy, despite the considerable development of the past 30 years, is in danger of suffering a decline and falling behind the rhythms of transformation and progress. It is necessary to react forcefully and promptly. The present danger is that existing regressive thrusts will increasingly combine: the stagnation of production forces with the spreading area of speculation and parasitism, unemployment with a frightening financial crisis, the cronyist sharing out of the state with the spread of hidden powers centers and the mafia, the exacerbation of the problem of southern Italy and of all injustices and imbalances with the citizens' tendency to move away from the democratic institutions. The strength and cohesion of the national order and therefore its very autonomy would be weakened. It would be more difficult to resist the pressures of those trying to involve Italy in a policy of military adventures.

It is becoming increasingly clear that no problem can be resolved (in the economy, the institutions, culture or civil coexistence) without a profound change of direction characterized by equity and rigorousness, and therefore without a deliberate commitment from the production forces and workers and peoples masses, which must participate in the country's government, if this is what is wanted.

5--From all this there emerges the need to unblock the system of political and government relations built up over 30 years and centered on the DC and its alliances. The democratic alternative policy stems primarily from a national necessity, the need to impart a new thrust to the working classes and to a broad range of production forces, creative energies and minds that are now degraded or sacrificed. Italy needs a new leadership class with a national and state awareness and a great capacity for reform and planning that is able, with great realism, to start surmounting the crisis and to transform the country in a fully democratic, modern, efficient, juster and freer direction.

6--The basic task of the 16th Congress is to define the objective alliances and movements that will make the democratic alternative a timely line of struggle, a major operation to change the political leadership and to regenerate society, the state and the parties.

We are aware of the difficulties of such a task and of the fact that in order to contribute effectively to it we must be the first to demonstrate our ability to regenerate ourselves. This requires a further extension of the synthesis between democratic tradition and socialist ideals on which the PCI's growth and development has been based.

We must reject the thesis that in a Western capitalist country such as Italy an alternative is impossible inasmuch as the Communist Party is the major leftwing force. It must be rejected not only because it is discriminatory and antidemocratic and not only because the PCI is an essential part of Italian democracy and has contributed more than any other party to founding the republic on the active consensus of the people's masses, but because in fact this thesis must be reversed. It is the very nature of today's problems, it is the impotence and crisis of the parties that base their strength on the occupation of the state, it is the fact that the link connecting the economic, social and moral crisis makes it impossible to govern the country without the people's broad mobilization and participation; it is the need to promote new production solutions, new ways of living and new ideals--it is all this that demands the presence, the struggle and the participation in the country's leadership of a party with the original characteristics, the moral rigorousness, the social bonds and the sense of national responsibility that within the Italian workers movement belong to the party inspired by Gramsci and Togliatti.

The five-party coalition has been the failure of its ambitions to govern the country by ostracizing the PCI. This endeavor, which constituted the policy of so-called governability, was based on a superficial and erroneous analysis of Italy's problems and is causing chaos. The worst aspect is that in this situation the policy pursued is recessive and at the same time inflationary, one of the further corporativization of society and of an attack on the social and cultural gains of recent decades.

Italy must be given a new government, a government providing a democratic alternative to the DC, centered on the leftwing parties and strengthened by the contributions of other democratic currents. This does not mean creating irremediable chasms between the major democratic forces, pushing social strata and people's forces that follow the DC to the right of reopening old ideological contrapositions. With the dropping of prejudices and the affirmation of the parties' equal status, it becomes possible to define alternatives on the basis of the various political programs and plans and the various social and ideological reference points. This makes the political dialectic freer and more transparent and the dialogue among the country's major ideological currents more productive and ultimately strengthens the bond among citizens, parties and democratic institutions.

So that such a change can become topical and credible, so that mistakes can be dispelled and resistance overcome, it is necessary to formulate an advanced



and realistic program in an open dialogue with the PSI and other leftwing and democratic forces, including those present within the catholic world. But above all it is necessary to act, to stipulate energies and minds in parties, trade unions, movements and all sectors of national life.

These are the tasks that the 16th PCI Congress is called on to perform.

#### I--The Democratic Alternative

1--The realization of the democratic alternative and of a government representing it must be based on an understanding between the leftwing forces and other democratic forces. But it is not only a bloc of parties or the combination of parliamentary alignments: it involves a mobilization of social forces and movements, a shifting of cultural currents and of consensus and political and program options that are aimed, starting now, at substantial changes in the economy, society and the state. So it is not an event that can be achieved just by forming a majority. It is a process that can be started right away.

In any case, we are not starting from scratch. The unitary experience that communists, socialists and other leftwing and democratic forces have accumulated in recent years--particularly extensively since 1975--in the administration of Italy's major cities, entire regions and a large proportion of municipalities and provinces constitutes a very important element of strength, because it has demonstrated the ability of the left and of other democratic forces to administer public affairs in the interests of the community. But it is now a matter of providing the country with a different kind of government.

An explicit stance in favor of the alternative on the part of other leftwing and democratic forces, starting with the socialist party, would itself be a major step in this direction. It would prompt an impetus and confidence in all the workers and people's forces. Therefore a refusal cannot be justified by the argument that not all the conditions for the alternative exist yet. It is precisely the announcement of this aim that contributes to the realizing of such conditions.

2--The first problem is how to safeguard and consolidate the basic unitary fabric of the left and the workers movement, as it has taken shape historically within the trade unions, the cooperatives, the mass movements and local government. This is one reason why the attempt to rally a range of interests around the idea that the solution to the crisis lies in inflicting a blow to the working class, its gains, its rights and its role must be defeated. This is a decisive point: if it does happen, if the traditional relations of alliance between the working class and other strata of the population are slackened, the entire alignment for regeneration and progress would be weakened.

But while we indicate a political option alternative to the DC, that is to a party that rallies such a large proportion of the lower and middle classes in Italy, it is also necessary to consider how it is possible to extend the existing social bases of the left, winning over other forces wanting change.

There is now the possibility of a stronger initiative with respect to traditional strong points of the DC's bloc voters, starting in the south, where a change in the balance of power is an essential precondition for the advance of an alternative in Italy.

In general, the entire issue of alliances needs updating. Italian society has changed profoundly and we are now confronted with a much more varied social structure. White-collar workers have become an important factor, and employees in the service sector now constitute the majority of workers. But among employed workers the working class remains the largest relatively homogeneous nucleus. Those who believe that its role is bound to diminish are mistaken. It is the very need to impart a new kind of development of the production forces that assigns a fundamental role to a working class that is modernizing and diversifying itself too. This is an objective fact, not an ideological attribute. Industry will for many more years remain the nerve center of the process of innovation from which decisive thrusts will proceed in orienting scientific research and technological and organizational innovation. And whatever happens in industry will ultimately influence the overall social order.

The working class is situated in the midst of this tumult. Already it is discovering to its own cost how the diminution of the manual element in work can actually be accompanied by an exacerbation of its frustrating and repetitive characters--and this when innovation is being used to accentuate the authoritarian traits of the decision-making mechanisms. But this is a problem that concerns and will increasingly concern trained personnel and white-collar workers too, as is shown by what is happening in offices. This is why, irrespective of divisions of role, there has been a development, particularly prominent among younger people, of aspirations that could form a bloc of shared interests (greater involvement in decision-making, the recognition of the new professional and cultural values, the need for an organization of working and leisure time that can really make the most of human resources). What is important is that the working class must be able, in the face of the problems posed by technological innovation, to take an active part not with a defensive attitude, but to orient processes in the most democratic and least alienating direction.

Precisely with a view to a new kind of development, broader unity is possible between the working class and the new strata of trained and white-collar workers, in which the objectives and values espoused will be professionalism, efficiency, the humanization and creativity of work and the democratization of forms of organization and management. To this end it is a matter not of submitting to but of making the most of a growing desire on the part of social groups and forces to carry more weight, partly by acquiring autonomous forms of organization that cannot be channeled either into the patterns of the party or into traditional trade union representation. The fact is that these strata of workers (trained personnel and middle cadres in production, the services, information and the media; researchers; teachers; cultural forces; new professional sectors created by the technological revolution; and so forth) now occupy such a space in social and production life that they, together with the working class, can become fundamental protagonists of the

struggle to transform the country. A large-scale shifting of these social strata to the left is therefore decisive to the success of the democratic alternative. But to achieve this we must not restrict ourselves to stressing that these strata share with others the condition of dependent workers. We must place much more emphasis on their specificity and the particular role that they play with a view to a broader social and production development.

This broader development, the optimization of production activities, greater creativity at work and a different organizations of life are also points of strength in a stronger rapprochement between employed workers and the entrepreneurial middle classes (craftsmen, farmers, traders, and so forth) who represent an essential part of the system of alliances and must contribute with a leading role to the transformation of Italian society within the autonomy and special nature of their functions. Overall, it is a matter of bringing together for the sake of a future of regeneration viewpoints, ideological stances and material interests that are not always homogeneous and not automatically possible to unite but whose involvement and broad and autonomous participation is essential in building the democratic alternative. And it is by moving along this path that the labor world can find interlocutors even among a substantial section of employers and leaders who realize the negative burden of a parasitic and paralyzing system and who are now particularly harmed by the governments' restrictive policies, by the wastefulness of public finance and by the absence of a policy of technological modernization.

Within this system of alliances of the labor world, in which the working class' role remains decisive, crucial weight is carried by the masses of unemployed, underprivileged and alienated young people, who are concerned not only with the attainment of broader social and production development but also with the issues of improved quality of work and life that emerge from the struggle for a democratic management of the economy.

3--Another fundamental direction in which to work with a view to shifting the real forces in the country is that of the movements that organize around major issues of general value or even around problems, interests and ideas that permeate all social strata.

Among movements of a general nature a decisive role has been played over the years by the women's movement, which, raising specific issues connected with women's status, has pointed to the need for a general transformation of society. It crosses class barriers and raises fundamental issues concerning not only sexual equality and women's place in life and political decisions, but the emancipation of the individual in all its aspects--from personal and family relationships to production and social relations. Major legal, cultural, social and behavioral gains have been achieved. But these are now being challenged and jeopardized by the combined effect of the economic crisis and the conservative counteroffensive. Women are at the center of this counteroffensive at work, in individual rights and behavior because of the attempt to reassert in various ways the principle of the division of roles between men and women, and they are the hardest hit by the ruling parties recessive policies. Basically there is an increasingly acute contradiction

between real conditions, existing social and government mechanisms and the new levels of maturity, awareness and subjectivity acquired by broad masses of people. This is why women and their movements are now an essential force in an alternative policy.

More committed and careful attention must also be devoted to the "new movements," which are gathering increasing support, especially among young people, and whose objectives are major collective needs--such as the defense of minority rights, the involvement of hitherto ostracized masses in the various forms of cultural life, action against drugs and against the various forms of underprivilege, the struggle for better living conditions, the defense and optimization of the historical and natural environment and ecological endeavor. It is important to understand that the development of these movements (which phenomenon is not confined to Italy) does not itself imply a reduction of the parties' space and role as long as they are able to understand their autonomous demands and to provide an outlet for them in administrative and political action. Indeed, such movements reflect substance and forms of political, social and civil commitment that can help to regenerate society and politics, and therefore the parties too.

The problem of old people is steadily increasing in Italy, as in other Western countries--not only because of their increase in numbers but also because of the consequent social and political problems, in many respects new. There is an increasingly acute contradiction: on the one hand capitalist society tries in every possible way to sanction their isolation and social uselessness; on the other hand there is an increasingly broad and strong response from millions of old people, organized in trade unions and other forms of association, who, proceeding from their own specific demands, are forcefully taking up the problem of a comprehensive revision of the organization of society, work, the environment and lifestyle.

4--Within the more strictly political framework, relations with the PSI and other leftwing and democratic forces are decisive for building an alternative. Whatever the reasons for the still unresolved disputes and whatever the mistrusts and polemics, there is one thing of which we are certain: without an understanding among the leftwing forces it is difficult to bring about a real change of direction in the country's development. This is not because there are not major forces wanting change, even outside the traditionally leftwing parties, but because it is difficult to advance without forming an alignment which, though not restricted to the leftwing forces, is based on them.

This does not mean closing our eyes to the scale of the conflicts, deluding ourselves that they can be surmounted by submitting to options that we consider mistaken precisely with a view to building a strategy (and a gathering of forces) that present a real alternative. A joint proposal cannot be built on ambiguity. However, it does demand from us too the ability to realize what has changed in the conduct and even the culture of the PSI and other forces of the Italian and European left, understanding the reasons and problems at the root of such changes.

It is in this spirit that we address the PSI. We state with absolute clarity that the alternative must not be characterized by or submit to the supremacy of either of the two parties but must be the outcome of autonomous and convergent efforts of research and regeneration in a spirit of joint rivalry. The PCI is more open than ever to such rivalry. In their quest Italian communists invoke not only the tradition of the communist component but the overall experience of the Italian and European workers movement and are resolved to proceed with the utmost open-mindedness and determination in this direction. This is the way we are: We do not isolate ourselves stubbornly in the defense of the past, neither do we throw away the whole of our heritage.

Therefore a very negative verdict must be issued on the fact that the PSI leadership group, instead of moving in the direction of an unrestricted and unprejudiced dialogue on the new problems now confronting the left and the workers movement, has tended in recent years to overshadow the processes already under way, the opportunities and necessities to surmount old and anachronistic barriers. Instead of trying to assert the PSI's capacity for autonomous deliberation and initiative and therefore also its irreplaceable role within the context of a broader democratic and socialist strategy of the workers movement, the socialist leadership group has imparted a systematic character to the disputes with the PCI. The objective of imparting a new thrust to the left, to its regeneration, to its overall advance and to its unity has given way to the objective of an exclusive assertion of its own party. The consequence has been to equate the weakening of the positions of the DC, with which our country's conservative and moderate forces identify, with a weakening of those of the PCI, around which such a large proportion of the leftwing force is rallied. And thanks to what proved to be a miscalculation, namely the belief that a "central" position could thus be occupied, the commitment to fight for the participation of the entire left in the leadership of the nation's life has been shelved. This has had very negative consequences, even in the conception of policy and in methods of handling power.

The PSI now faces a choice: either to persist with the competitive alliance with the DC, while in fact resigning itself to a subordinate role; or to assert its own autonomous and individual role within the context of a future democratic alternative.

This decision has not been made and cannot be taken for granted. The communists are confident of the possibility that there will evolve within the PSI a deliberation on the country's situation that will prompt it to reach a decision and to fight for the alternative. Be that as it may, we will act resolutely in this direction.

More generally, it must be stressed that the prospect of the democratic alternative--precisely because it proposes to free politics and society from the negative and corrupting influences of the present power system and therefore also to optimize the parties' role and by elevating their function--constitutes the framework within which all democratic forces are placed in a position to regenerate themselves and to make a positive contribution to the country's development again. The PCI does not underestimate the contributions,

even dialectical ones, that can come from the proletarian unity party and from other political groups active within the area of the left--both in the elaboration of programs and in the analysis of the new problems that now arise. Moreover, we have always stressed that in Italian society--which because of our country's history is highly diversified and pluralistic--the currents of secular and democratic thought have a vitality and an influence that cannot be measured solely in terms of votes. The resignation to the role of satellites of the DC has in the past canceled out the secular intermediary parties within the context of a more general process of corporativization of the political system. The alternative that we propose therefore constitutes the framework within which a force such as the social democrats can better redefine their own role as a component of a leftwing alignment, while stances such as those of the republicans or even the liberals have an opportunity to reassert the original and individual nature of their contribution to the development of Italian democracy, irrespective of their position in government or opposition.

5--In the strategy of the alternative the catholic question in no way loses the central prominence that it has always had in PCI's deliberations and initiative.

What is now becoming essential is in fact to fully restore the distinction, which became obscured to some extent during the democratic solidarity period, between the catholic question and the DC question, while bearing in mind the interconnection between them, if for no other reason than the fact that a considerable number of catholics still vote DC.

The catholic world cannot be regarded as a compact and homogeneous bloc. This does not mean, however, that the catholic question has become less important: This is shown in Italy too by the vitality displayed--though deplorable conservative resistance and tendencies to stubbornness and entrenchment remain within this area--by forces, organizations, and movements belonging to the catholic area. The Italian communists have conducted wide-ranging deliberations on the catholic question and on the question of religion, which were comprehensively summed up in the 15th Congress theses and which we confirm. Here, on a more immediately political plane, however, two points must be particularly emphasized.

First, it must be stressed that new and stronger capacity for initiative from out party on the catholic question must be regarded as one of the decisive areas for the establishment of a democratic alternative policy. Indeed, the democratic alternative must not be characterized as a "secular" alternative, that is, as the counterposition of a secular alignment to a catholic alignment. With regard to government solutions, it is clearly an alternative to the DC and its power system. But it is not a matter of raising ideological prejudices or of establishing a discrimination that will set catholics and non-catholics against each other. The determining factor, if any, lies in and emerges in the dialectic between those who accept and those who do not accept a program of reform and regeneration.

In this outlook an essential contribution can also be made by forces of the catholic area--in forms that cannot be abstractly predetermined--in building a policy of regeneration and in the formation of a majority that will put it into practice, partly because, without such a contribution and if the alignment for the alternative took shape simply as a non-catholic alignment, it would inevitably be subject to the moderate blackmail of socially and politically conservative forces that carry undeniable weight even within the non-catholic area.

The other point to be stressed is that the area for rapprochement and convergence with organizations and movements of the catholic area must not be restricted to the pursuit of specific economic and social objectives but must include--naturally, within observance of the comparison of respective cultural and ideological stances--the major issues of general and future interest, such as the antiwar commitment, rearmament and famine; the major objectives of equality and the liberation of the poor and the oppressed; the struggle against exploitation, alienation and underprivilege, against the mafia and narcotics, that is, against all those phenomena that are repugnant to Christians too. On these topics some very significant convergences have recently come about, which show that there are broad scope and specific opportunities for joint commitment.

6--As for the DC--which is not just a party of catholics but also enjoys the support of broad moderate and conservative sectors of varying ideologies and social positions--we have said and we confirm that our proposal of an alternative does not include government cooperation with this party. The democratic alternative is, at the government level, an alternative to the DC and its power system. And it involves a struggle against that system. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility and even the necessity of convergences on safeguarding peace and the democratic system, the consolidation and functioning of the institutions and other objectives of national salvation. In particular, the need to avoid a split down the country and a reactionary shift in the majority of DC voters is still valid. It is therefore in the interests of democracy and of the alternative policy itself that the most open-minded and advanced possible stances be established in that party.

At the latest DC Congress a new majority emerged that acknowledged the failure of the policy of shortsighted and traditional anticommunism pursued by the so-called "preamble" alignment. The innovation is not insignificant, though its specific developments are by no means clear. And it was not only for the sake of tactical calculations that the new DC secretariat acknowledged the untenability of the prejudices against the PCI and the need to unblock the political system by regarding the DC and PCI as government parties, mutually alternative, but within the context of a free democratic dialectic, that is a "complete" democracy, albeit situated at some indefinite time in the future.

This position embodies a challenge to us, but also to the DC's own nature, indeed, the lost effectiveness of the old prejudices was accompanied by the lapse of the invocation of the "anticommunist bulwark" which was one of the mainstays of the DC power system. This is partly why the new DC leadership

group is now trying to regain a position of "centrality" on the social and political plane, aiming to rally, around a mystificatory hypothesis of imparting a new impetus to production by a constriction of pay and the workers gains, a very heterogeneous range of forces. From the various sectors of the entrepreneurial alignment to the old and new urban middle classes, from the poor sectors of the "conservative areas" [zone blanche] to the beneficiaries of public intervention basically in the form of welfare. However, this is neither a painless nor an easy operation. It creates the possibility that traditional elements of strength of the DC's interclass nature will experience a crisis and that the repeated invocation of the party's "people's character" will no longer succeed in concealing real contradictions and deplorably conservative options that the old anticommunist prejudices are not longer sufficient to mask.

Our political initiative can and must draw attention to these contradictions with a view to breaking up that special bloc, shifting its balances forward in a democratic direction and changing the country's leadership. Be that as it may, the dialogue between the DC and us is becoming more intensive and more specific. It is based increasingly on real facts. And these facts are the [word indistinct] nature of the social conflict, the state of relations between the parties and the state, the threats to democracy and struggle against the mafia and against the contamination of the life of the institutions and the ruling parties.

## II--To Emerge From the Crisis With a new Kind of Development

1--The economic crisis is worldwide and has very different characteristics from other crises of the past. It is the kind of development of recent decades that seems to have reached exhaustion. Some of its basic preconditions seem to have disappeared: the old relations between the advanced countries and the vast area of underdevelopment no longer stand up, but even within the industrialized countries the mechanisms of economic administration, social contracts, production options, the model of consumption and the use of resources typical of the so-called welfare state are worn out. Inflation and recession are tending to combine.

The current worldwide recession, the worst since the war, is partly a result of the prevalence, following Ronald Reagan's accession to the U.S. Presidency, of a conservative response to a profound and acute crisis whose origin can be placed in the early seventies with the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system and the modification of exchange relations between manufactured goods and oil.

The conflict over the distribution of income has become exacerbated everywhere, both because of the discrepancy between growing needs and budgetary possibilities and because of the spread of centers of powers and corporative phenomena that tend to deprive governments of legitimacy and the power to exert control. In all the Western countries gains in the fields of employment, social services and living standards are threatened. The left and the trade unions are under attack.



It must not be forgotten, however, that such a crisis is also a result of the fact that the advances of the peoples forces and of the liberation movements over the decades have disrupted old balances and compatibilities.

The monetary squeeze imposed by the United States on the entire world--accompanied, moreover, by a huge shifting of resources to military expenditure--has caused a general decline in production activity. In less than 2 years the number of unemployed in the industrialized area has grown to over 30 million. Following the increase in interest rates and the fall in raw materials prices, there has been a further exacerbation of the huge burden of indebtedness of the Third World countries (\$500 billion), some of which have been driven to the brink of bankruptcy, with the threat of a collapse of the entire world financial system.

The stubbornness with which these options have been pursued cannot be explained solely by economic policy considerations. The fact is that the chief objective of the U.S. Administration and of other conservative governments was and still is political: a modification of the world balance of forces. Through monetarist and restrictive policies and above all thanks to the unscrupulous use of privilege reserved to the dollar within the world monetary system, an attempt is being made to reduce the rival industrial powers' role, to increase the developing countries' dependence and to lessen the trade unions' strength. Basically the aim is to restore to the United States the power to control the entire world economy and at the same time to facilitate the processes of restructuring and concentration mentioned in the introduction.

It is essential to bring about a change in U.S.-European relations so as to defend Europe's interests and also to influence the orientations of U.S. economic and monetary policy. This requires a quest for more specific and binding understandings and bonds at the European level. It is time to proceed to a second phase in the European monetary agreement, to adopt a joint stance with respect to the dollar and above all to extend the use of the European monetary unit as a means of payment in international transactions so as to make possible new trading relations in all directions, especially with countries producing raw materials. The time has also come to proceed specifically with the reform of the common agricultural policy and with the coordination of industrial policies in the crisis sectors, particularly in the fields on whose development Europe's capacity for innovation and progress depends. To oppose the power of the multinationals, the various countries' public enterprises, above all, should be persuaded to reach agreements, thus surmounting protectionist temptations and national egotism.

2--Old-style expansionist policies are no longer feasible. Hence the difficult challenge to the left, but hence too its new and irreplaceable role; because while policy centered purely on increasing demand comes up against the brick wall of galloping inflation, for the reasons cited, it is also true that a conservative and recessionary policy encounters an unacceptable increase in unemployment which, however, cannot succeed in eliminating inflation.

It is therefore the actual quality of development that must be revised. It is therefore a question of an alternative. In recent months the PCI has drawn

up a document of proposals for a socioeconomic policy and policy of economic management. An initial broad consultation has already taken place among the leftwing political forces, among the organized social forces and in the universities. The dialogue must continue so as to reach the formulation of a program shared by all the forces that can be summoned to building the democratic alternative.

Our point of departure is the clear awareness of the constraints caused by the crisis, which have considerably restricted the leeway for economic maneuver in the short term, and therefore of the fact that all Italians must make a real effort to prevent the country's bankruptcy. A left that really wants to offer itself as a candidate for the government distinguishes itself from the conservative forces not inasmuch as it denies or dismisses the existence of these constraints, but inasmuch as, unlike those forces, it offers a consistent and rigorous proposal capable of tackling the crisis while at the same time building the new conditions for the development of production forces. When the social cost of the crisis is already very high, in terms of falling employment, the fall in real salaries and the further lagging behind of southern Italy, one cannot appeal to the workers masses and the country without offering a positive proposal of development and, at the same time, justice.

3--With regard to the present Italian situation, the rather frightening figures for inflation, the state deficit, indebtedness, unemployment and the continuous deterioration in the exchange rate do not tell the entire story. The most worrying thing is that we are approaching the point when the economic machine goes haywire and the financial situation goes out of control. Doom-mongering outlooks are futile. However, it must be realized that a further slide down the slope could have very grave consequences, not only for the economy but for the grip of the democratic framework.

Hence it is necessary for the left to put forward a bold and realistic proposal, making very clear the reasons why this situation has come about as well as the political and social responsibilities for it.

It is true that the public deficit, which has doubled in 2 years, has increased more in Italy than in other countries. But unless the causes are correctly analyzed the danger is that of a recourse merely to a policy of indiscriminate and socially unjust cuts which, because it does not act on the real causes of this increase, would ultimately reproduce the distorted mechanisms that caused it. Italy's very serious deficit is influenced by an acceleration in current expenditure, particularly strong in recent years, which, however, is connected to a fundamental tangle of unresolved problems (patronage, bureaucratism, inefficiency and unproductivity of expenditure). If one adds to this the fact that almost one-fifth of all current expenditure is accounted for by the huge amount of interest on the public debt (all the greater because of the high cost of money) one can see that the problem cannot be resolved by resorting to indiscriminate cuts in social and investment expenditure, whose levels in relation to national income are actually lower than in other countries. What exacerbates Italy's situation is the

fact that the level of income remains consistently lower than that of countries similar to ours, and this is the result of the unjust nature of the tax and contributory systems, in which the level of evasion is enormous. One only has to consider that over the past decade the proportion of the total income from direct taxation accounted for by employed workers increased from 41 to 75 percent, while the accounted for by self-employed workers fell from 18 to 3 percent, by land and real estate owners from 18 to 3 percent and by enterprises from 23 to 19 percent. There is still the problem--serious in Italy but shared by all capitalist countries--that public spending tends to increase faster than national income and revenue. It is therefore necessary to act in several directions at the same time: on both incomings and outgoings, but also with decisive action in the real economy to create the conditions for a recovery of development and to release the production forces from a mechanism that is stifling them.

4--The budgetary crisis therefore stems from many causes, but its fundamental root lies in the way in which the DC in particular, through its policy on spending and revenue, has tried to gain the support of various sectors, categories and interests by mediating in the conflicts among them along a line that has avoided any serious reforms. And this line has become exacerbated since 1979 because each party of the government coalition has tried to maintain and to extend the bases of its own support through allocations of public money. Thus, through the state budget, there has been a considerable redistribution of income to the detriment of a large proportion of dependent workers but also to the detriment of the most productive sectors.

One must add to this the effect of the restriction of the production base deriving from the kinds of restructuring begun in industry in recent years. They are accompanied by the heaviest attack on the workers for many years, as is shown by the fact that increased productivity is almost always followed by a fall in the level of employment. The entire question of labor contracts and the indexing system shows that the real aim of the present leadership group of the General Confederation of Italian Industry has never been even a serious rationalization of the structure of costs, but simply to reduce trade union power and real incomes. The consequence is that, apart from causing a burdensome reduction of industrial employment, it is causing a restriction of specializations and therefore of the country's production base, particularly in the south. There is no lack of interesting cases in which restructuring processes are controlled by agreements with the trade unions in accordance with a policy of developing production initiatives. But in general industrial policies, partly through the fault of government inertia, follow a line of reducing the production base. If one adds to this the fact that financial capital now absorbs a large proportion of enterprises' resources and particularly the fact that inflation is hindering the planning of medium-and long-term investments (thus creating a situation whereby even employers are driven to risk speculative activities) the gravity of the problem is clear.

Basically, a vicious circle has been created, which, very briefly, is as follows: 1--The systems' low average productivity (the great burden of parasitism, the backwardness of the south, inefficiencies, the slow development

of strategic sectors and even agriculture, superfluous forms of consumption) is the basic cause of the excessive level of Italian inflation: 2--However, in combating inflation there is a failure to proceed to its real causes; 3--Paradoxically, the measures adopted instead further depress the system's productivity and further feed inflation. Instead of intervening in the real economy, so as to improve the qualitative level of the economic system, there is a persistence with corporative policies that have progressively deprived the state of the ability to stimulate economic processes and that have relegated it to a merely redistributive role. All this is exacerbated by the fact that to bridge the bottomless pit of the deficit caused by current expenditure, a drain is being made on savings, thus reducing the possibility of allocating them to investment programs that will improve the system's overall competitiveness.

This is the mechanism that is leading the country to stagnation and to the threat of bankruptcy. It is obvious, therefore, that to destroy it the left must adopt a rigorous selection policy that will use existing resources in a different way, find potential resources, hit out at wastage and superfluous consumption, give real priority to production investments and to optimizing and developing the social services likely to improve living standards.

The situation is now such that shock therapies and extraordinary measures could become necessary. But one point must be clear: No measure, no tax, no cut makes any sense if it serves only to scrape the barrel of national resources just so as to finance the very mechanism that has emptied it. A shock therapy must not be a stop-gap measure. If it creates the conditions for remedying the situation it can reduce inflation and set the production process moving again.

It is obvious that the attack on the working class is a political factor and has nothing to do with a policy of rigorousness and reform of the Italian economy in a productive direction. It is in fact a way of avoiding tackling the real causes of inflation. In our proposals for an economic and social program we cited the need for a reform of pay structures above all in relations to the need to achieve a greater consistency between pay and labor costs, between pay and the specific substance of work (professional standards, productivity, effort and responsibility). But this does not in the least mean hitting out at salaried workers or sacrificing them for the sake of other categories of wage-earners. It is quite obvious that the offensive that has been underway for some time to demonstrate that the crisis and inflation are primarily the result of levels of pay is pure mystification. This does not mean that there are no problems of productivity. But the fact is that inflation has leaped to a level far higher than in other industrialized countries since 1979, that is, in a period during which the share of national income distributed to industrial workers decreased. At the same time the public deficit grew enormously, while fiscal drag, driven by inflation, created a huge drain on employed workers' incomes, thus decreasing their real purchasing power net of taxation.

5--While it is true that the disorder in public finance is now the most critical aspect of the Italian situation, it does not mean that it constitutes

an anomaly with respect to a society and an economy that are basically healthy. In the final analysis the public budget suffers the impact of the country's grave economic and social contradictions, of the phenomena of disintegration and of the corporative trends nurtured and exacerbated by inflation.

These are the reasons why a democratic alternative policy must come to terms completely with a crisis that certainly stems from profound causes, including international ones, but which is complicated in Italy by the burden of a complex system of mediations around which various social strata, including low-income ones, have gathered. This must all be viewed without simplifications, in the knowledge that such a crisis also involves serious risks and can cause violent corporative reactions. Nevertheless, a real alternative cannot fail to come to terms with the whole of this system, which has a people's base too, but in which the burden of privileges and parasitism is growing and increasing scope is being granted to speculation and financial power, while the production forces are destined to be penalized. Unless it proves capable of dismantling and removing this bloc of interests the left will fail in its task and will become eroded in a subordinate role, however, harsh its criticisms of the DC.

6--The road to the recovery of investment exists, but it is very narrow. It is therefore necessary to take some major decisions on which to seek a dialogue and to build a convergence within the left and among all the forces of regeneration and progress.

A qualitative recovery of investments and development must not be viewed separately from a policy of rigorousness and reform. But to start a qualitatively different kind of development it will be necessary not only to shift resources toward investment but also to create new resources. And resources are not only financial but include professionalism, knowledge, enterprise and the ability to create and to work. Therefore it is not realistic to outline new economic development plans without adopting a new viewpoint on the problems of labor, programming and economic democracy, social services and living standards. Even the struggle against inflation--more necessary than ever because of the grave economic and social distortions that it is causing and the risks to which it exposes the democratic system--cannot be successful unless it is combined with a start of a new development process.

Therefore we submit for debate a number of points that now seem of central importance, and which concern the following:

- revenue;
- public and social expenditure;
- the orientation and quality of production development;
- democratic planning;
- economic democracy;
- the struggle for employment and its humanization.

I--There is a pressing need for a bold reform of the tax system (and also for extraordinary financial measures) to drastically reduce the bands of earners that now largely escape any form of taxation, especially in the sectors of real estate wealth and self-employment. This maneuver as a whole--

comprising extraordinary measures and comprehensive reform--is an absolutely essential step not only for reasons of fairness and rigor, but also to normalize the public debt situation and to start reforming the public budget. The aim is a substantial increase in revenue from taxation and contributions, potentially so as to cover current expenditure and to transfer more resources to investment.

II--To adopt a policy of real rigor in public spending, while observing criteria of justice and of the defense of the weaker sectors, starting to modify the structure of consumption so that social consumption does not augment but replaces superfluous forms of consumption that imply damage and exorbitant costs to the community.

The strongest response to the conservative and neoliberal attack on social gains does not lie in defending the present corporatized state, a state in which an uninterrupted growth in public spending (and of the public deficit) is matched by an increasingly unsatisfactory satisfaction of society's needs and the suppression of innovation. The problem to be tackled concerns the composition of public expenditure, without ignoring the existence of problems relating to the scale of expenditure and revenue and therefore the level of deficit. But to guarantee social security and the provision of real services with lower overall expenditure and in accordance with principles of solidarity, equity and efficiency, a mechanism must be created within which expenditure on objectives of general benefit will not imply a diversion of resources away from the production cycle but will be an integral part of an effort aimed at supporting a new kind of development.

To start moving in this direction there are certain conditions: a)--A clear distinction between parties and state; b)--the involvement and the capacity for planning and orientation of the public sector, together with new forms of cooperation and association; c)--the shouldering of responsibility by all centers of expenditure; d)--the planning of social security expenditure, with a distinction drawn between national insurance, which should be paid entirely by the contributory system, and welfare, for which public finance is fully responsible; e)--and the growth of participation at the grass roots (and therefore also control) at the enterprises, corporation and local level.

In a transitional phase in which there is a pressing need to increase development investments it is possible to plan a particular level of social spending in relation to the GDP. The present division of this expenditure into rigid compartments permits not transfers from one service to another--transfers that could make social spending more rational and effective. The objective to be pursued is a gradual inversion of the ratio between payments to families and social services. This requires a restructuring of spending on allowances that will, by means of comprehensive measures that have not by chance been opposed by the DC, eliminate wastage and improper allocations and make the contributions of certain categories of self-employed workers more rational. With regard to social and health spending, its reform requires control of all funds for social spending (apart from national insurance) by a single decentralized body, so that this spending can better satisfy the needs of the population in the various parts of the country.

Basically it is a matter of creating the conditions--not only economic but also political and moral--for achieving a containment of spending and less pressure on public finance by means of cooperation and shared responsibility on the part of the citizens.

Within this framework it is necessary to combat a conservative response to the crisis of the old welfare state, which consists of entrusting the protection of individual citizens exclusively to the family context. The so-called "family allowances"--more preached than practiced, moreover--are not a more effective and ultimately less expensive protection of the citizens, but an attempt to entrust the satisfaction of their needs, both old and new, to family "subsidies." This threatens not only to bring back obsolete life-styles and authoritarian forms of family life but also to cause a further wastage of wealth and increased expenditure.

III--Changing the orientation and direction of development means concentrating efforts and resources in the new industrial sectors and in innovation, partly so as to prevent the Italian system from being excluded from the major technological transformations underway internationally. This implies decisions that the state must take concerning general policy on scientific and technological research, a plan for computer technology, energy, transport, telecommunications and the development of the agricultural industry. There must therefore be a reform of the tools of economic management, starting with a reform of the state-controlled industries that will restore them to health and assign to them a driving role in reconversion. But such a reconversion will be effective only if it is carried out simultaneously with broad processes of modernization, and in some cases expansion, of agriculture, construction, distribution, transport and the service sector linked in various ways to production.

This is the viewpoint from which to assess the new character of the issue of southern Italy, which is marked by processes of distorted modernity, by the growing burden of the urban problem and by the mass dimension of youth unemployment. In such a profoundly changed situation the problem of creating a balance between the country's advanced and backward regions presents some very different aspects. Because of the very need to make the most of resources such as agriculture, energy, the environment and so forth, the south can become the test bench for a different kind of development than the kind pursued over the past 30 years. Hence the need to create a balance between activity in industry and the service sector in the north and south, but by means of investment options that are not the outcome of the corrupt mediations of the DC power system but as the result of the program of innovations and of production development that has been outlined. The south therefore remains an essential lever and test bench for an alternative economic policy. And a recovery plan for the quake-hit areas now constitutes a priority objective.

IV--A management of the economy that does not restrict itself to allocating resources but that is capable of guiding the major transformation processes, while drastically reducing bureaucratic, formal and procedural constraints and controls: This is what democratic planning means to us--neither statism nor

centralized planning. Such a form of planning is the only path that makes it possible to give a fresh impetus to development and control the transformation processes while defending the workers and democratic gains.

The market must in any case perform an important function as a test of efficiency and stimulus to enterprise. But its functioning must be embodied in a plan, partly because the market cannot reflect fundamental needs (community services, the relationship with the environment, the elimination of imbalances and so forth) or even production needs which demand prolonged mobilizations of resources with deferred returns.

This new impetus to planning requires a reform of the state to reorganize its various functions (legislative, governmental, administrative) and to give it a real capacity for planning, direction and coordination of various sectors, each with its own autonomy. Therefore it is necessary to eliminate the disintegration and apportionment of government. But in Italy's situation, in which the confine between the public and private sectors is a shifting one and in which there is public ownership of basic sectors of industry and the services and of almost the entire banking system, the issue is not in principle how to achieve a quantitative expansion of the public sector. In fact it is chiefly a matter of giving the public sector a truly public function, that is, a role in orienting and stimulating development.

V--With a view to a nonstatist form of planning, it is very important to be able to influence the actual formation of the market, by introducing new factors of democracy into it and by enriching it with new elements. This is the major theme of economic democracy. A stimulus must be given to the emergence of various forms of self-managed activities, strengthening trends toward cooperation and aggregation within the smaller industrial enterprises, agriculture and the service sector. In particular it is necessary to work actively for the full establishment of the service sector of the economy. Cooperation, which has experienced major development in recent years, widespread experiences of aggregation among agricultural producers and medium-sized industrial and commercial concerns, experiences of cooperation and joint management among young people, trained personnel and workers in the cultural field already constitute a substantial achievement. The role that can be played by workers' trade union organizations in supporting the promotion and development of cooperation and aggregation, especially among young people and in the south, is very important. The new objective to be pursued is that of a major understanding among the forces of labor aimed at creating a broad self-managed sector of the economy.

The need has emerged to spread within the enterprises new and original forms of worker participation and control that can, however, maintain a clear distinction of roles and safeguard ownership and the management bodies. This issue cannot be evaded if we want to find a positive solution to the crisis and to elicit the necessary support for the task of reforming and reinvigorating the economy. The issue of how the restructuring processes are managed and of their social implications is an essential one and coincides with the very issue of economic "governability" and democracy in Italy today. This



is why a "flexible" planning of the country's production conversion must explicitly promote collective bargaining and new forms of control on fundamental issues such as working conditions, productivity agreements, mobility, professional retraining, a new relationship between education and work and part-time work.

In Italy's specific situation the starting point can be the establishment of "enterprise plans" and "production conferences" that will commit enterprises of a certain size to development and investment plans under the supervision of both the worker delegate councils and the planning bodies.

VI--A labor policy that will come to terms with the upheavals caused by the technological revolution is one of the major issues of modern societies. The present unemployment situation stems not only from the crisis of development and from employers' economic policies but from the impetus of two major trends: the qualitative and quantitative increase of the labor supply, which stems partly from the attainment of higher levels of culture and social living standards and the increasingly large-scale introduction of new labor-saving forms of technology.

How are these phenomena to be tackled? The idea of resolving them by leaving the task of restructuring and modernizing them on the basis solely of criteria of profitability to the enterprises, while granting the state the sole task of aiding the unemployed, is unacceptable. The labor problem must be tackled within the production process as a whole and within a more general process of reorganizing society, lifestyles and forms of work. One only has to consider the fact that the introduction of new technologies and new models of organization can, if properly supervised and directed, create the conditions for work that is more creative, temporally and spatially more flexible and more independent.

The objective of maximum employment must now be viewed within a new dimension. We must reject the idea that processes of rationalization must necessarily involve a reduction of the production base: in fact it is possible to counter the potential reduction of employment in industry by developing our production apparatus in the new advanced and innovative sectors, imparting a major thrust to innovation in products as well as production processes. It is also possible to increase employment in service activities connected in various ways with strengthening the production base in major tasks of land reform and in the social services.

But all this is not enough. A serious employment policy must start to counter the tendency to increasingly concentrate all the necessary work in a relatively restricted sector of the adult, predominantly male, population, leaving a growing proportion of young people, women and elderly people unemployed. A different distribution of work and a flexible timetable are not just a way of improving living conditions but also a way of avoiding condemning young people to increasingly delayed access to an active life and of guaranteeing elderly people the opportunity of continuing to express their abilities in productive or socially useful activities.

Within this framework the creation of a national labor service assumes great importance. It must, at the same time, organize the labor supply and promote its education and requalification; control mobility and stimulate job creation; regulate the effects of the processes of shorter working hours and facilitate the emergence of self-managed activities in various fields; promote, in agreement with local bodies, the use of unemployed workers or workers suspended from their jobs in initiatives of public benefit; guarantee, conditional upon the acceptance of proposals of employment or attendance of training and requalification courses, a minimum wage for the various classes of temporarily unemployed workers and forms of support for young people seeking their first jobs.

7--Because of its profound roots in the workers' world and its sense of responsibility toward the workers, the PCI feels involved in the present turmoil in the trade union movement. We still consider trade union autonomy a gain and a principle that must be defended against all attacks. For this reason too we must consider the issue of how to help surmount a crisis that could result in new splits and defeats that would burden the entire left and the very strength of Italian democracy.

What is the origin of the trade union movement's crisis? The reasons are manifold. Basically, a negative influence is imparted by the exacerbation of the economic crisis, the major changes in the social composition and organization of labor, the processes of restructuring and technological innovation that have called into question the strategy of demands, the organizational structure and the very role of the trade union, not only in Italy but almost throughout the world.

On account of their history, their particular nature and their degree of autonomy, the Italian trade unions have been better able than others to defend the workers, keeping open scope for initiative and struggles. But there is a crisis, and it must be tackled by restoring the trade unions' full role, protecting them from the present attempts to split them and subordinate them to criteria of political alignment, restoring a fully democratic relationship with their members and with the workers.

The objective fact from which to proceed is that the labor force is becoming increasingly diversified and differentiated. In production increasing importance is being acquired by new groups: technicians, trained personnel, skilled workers and so forth. But outside the factory too new social groups have emerged, from casual and part-time workers to the new clerical groups. On the one hand, the new professions are growing, while on the other, the sector of unguaranteed work is also growing. The crisis and inflation increase the threat of a corporative fragmentation which, however it would be difficult to tackle if the trade unions fail to regain their ability to influence the organization of work, both inside and outside the factory, and to negotiate even in the fragmented and submerged areas of the economy.

This raises a number of crucial issues on which the strength, the autonomy and even the unity of the trade unions depend.

The first is the unification of the labor forces. It is a decisive issue for the country's very development. To unite workers, technicians, trained personnel, the employed and the unemployed and to make the trade unions really representative of all workers implies a bold revision of pay strategies, organizational structures, a democratic relationship with the workers and the surmounting of element of bureaucratism. The desire and ability to proceed from specific problems and real conditions must be regained so as to build the unity of the labor world not by means of generic or pseudo-ideological arguments but by means of opportune claims policies and also new structures capable of representing and organizing currently unrepresented groups of workers and unemployed.

Unless the trade unions succeed in strengthening their base and interpreting and unifying the workers; real demands in the midst of production processes and social processes at the grassroots level, then the problem of their representation in society and their relations with the government and the institutions becomes more difficult.

The trade union movement has a specific function: the united defense of workers' rights, both in production activity and in civic society. If this defense is not to be blind, the trade union movement must fight for a new economic policy that can stem only from the basic needs of the various sectors of workers that the trade unions represent. So it is not a matter of back-tracking from the major role due to the trade union, its commitment to democracy, progress and peace. Nor is it a matter of yielding to laboristic, corporative and simplistic thrusts. Either the general objectives themselves (the development of new sectors, active labor policies, the problems of the south, the quality of development) stem, as far as the trade unions are concerned, from the actuality of the production process and from the demands and requirements of the labor force, or they have no legs to stand on. It is in the interests of the trade union movement to help promote real industrial democracy based on dialogue and negotiation, rights of information and the introduction of the "enterprise plan" in accordance with the Italian General Confederation of Labor's [CGIL's] proposal. Hence the importance of granting a broader representational capacity to the councils, thus guaranteeing the representation of highly professional workers (trained personnel and technicians) by means of special election mechanisms.

The crisis now affecting the trade union movement is partly also the crisis of the unitary process. The actual organization of unitary relations (joint representation and the federal structure) was conceived as a transitional phase on the way to comprehensive unity and must therefore be reappraised in the light of the present situation. The objective of trade union unity must be pursued tenaciously; but in order to advance in this direction it is necessary to ensure that the dialectic among the various stances--which in some cases concern substantial issues and reflect different conceptions of the trade union's role and characteristics--takes place more clearly by means of a systematic recourse to the rules of democracy.

For years there have been repeated attempts to involve the trade union movement as a whole in the rationales of parliamentary and government majorities,

and this has left deep marks on the worker masses and masses of working people, among whom there are vigorous and profound political and ideological differences, nurtured partly by the contradictions caused by the crisis. It is obvious that the unity and autonomy of the trade union movement can only be safeguarded as long as no political force tries to involve the trade union movement in the rationales of a majority, or even an opposition.

The issue of trade union democracy, observance--including formal observance--of regulations, the lucidity of decisions and the transcending of phenomena of bureaucratization therefore seems increasingly important in order to enable members and workers as a whole (and not only the more organized minorities) to exert an influence, to express their needs and to decide. The communists strongly emphasize the need to work for an increasingly close interconnection between the forms of democracy internal to the trade union and the systematic practice of the mass consultation of the workers. Unity--primarily that of the CGIL--is the most valuable asset, but unity can only be safeguarded if there is the courage to regenerate the trade union movement to make it increasingly representative of the workers, because it is in this that its justification lies, not in whatever portions of power may be granted to it within a corporativized state. The communists are and will remain the most committed to ensuring no surrender in this connection.

### III--Culture as a National Issue

1--The communists believe that the issue of the development of cultural life and organization has now become a decisive "national issue" for Italy.

This is due basically to two reasons. The first concerns the new dimensions and new characteristics that cultural life is acquiring with the accession of broad masses who were formerly excluded and with the spread of modern means of information and communication. People's activities increasingly concern--and will increasingly concern--educational processes, the production and diffusion of culture and activities that serve to exchange information. Social relations are already experiencing profound changes because there is a change in ways of living, thinking and learning, as well as working. The way culture is produced, communicated and consumed has changed. At the same time, however, there are growing possibilities both of progress and of regressive threats. There is therefore an increasingly acute need for a democratic presence within all these processes and for a growing commitment to giving everyone the essential tools of knowledge and critical awareness.

The second reason concerns the problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution, for which Italy is largely unprepared, clearly the transformations caused or at least made possible by the new technologies can be directed toward very different objectives. They can be used for purposes of liberation, for different living standards, to humanize work or, on the contrary, to make power structures more rigid and to increase inequalities. They can serve to help resolve the major world problems or to exacerbate the gulf between North and South and to create another arms race. For Italy too the consequences will differ according to which options are taken. But

for this very reason the country must be given the necessary scientific and technological standards to avoid being entirely dependent on other countries and to be able to govern its own development.

The proposal of a different policy on culture, education and information is therefore a constituent and decisive element in a democratic alternative policy. It is a matter of asserting--and not just in words--the value of "culture as a resource," because the spread of knowledge, the creation of a democratic system of information and communication, the development of science and technology and the defense and optimization of the cultural and environmental heritage are decisive preconditions for progress in the nation's economy and production. But it is also a matter of asserting the value of "culture as a purpose," because a development of society that it qualitatively richer and more emancipatory demands that all citizens be guaranteed greater opportunities for critical knowledge and understanding and therefore to participate in social and cultural life in its broadest sense.

2--The government and ruling classes bear a grave responsibility for having failed over the years to implement a policy capable of optimizing cultural, educational and informational resources, despite the growth in education and cultural life. This is apparent in several fields, with negative consequences throughout the nation's life, in particular:

--Italy's technological and scientific backwardness and impoverishment (though it does have great traditions and potential in several fields of knowledge) involves subordination and dependence, hinders economic and social development and obstructs every battle for change;

--Neglect of the historical and cultural heritage and of the environment has led and is leading to the dispersion and decline of one of our major national resources which is, at the same time, a valuable tool of knowledge, a factor in our national identity and the basis of one of the country's major industries, namely tourism;

--The malfunctionings of the educational system threaten to jeopardize, in practice and in people's mind, the function of state education and the gains of a development of mass education, thus facilitating wastage of human and material resources, attempts at regression and returns to privatization;

--The failure to implement production processes and mechanisms adapted to the increased demand for culture and to increased international competition creates increasing difficulties even in sectors with a great tradition (consider the movies), and causes instances of outright cultural colonization through growing imports, particularly from the United States, of certain products (especially for the television market).

--In the field of information and communications, the failure to implement a democratic policy to strengthen and control the informational system creates, on the one hand, a growing dependence on other countries and on the power of the multinationals and, on the other, the decline of the capacity

of production apparatus (the Italian Radio and Television Corporation, the newspapers and so forth) which are forced to serve partisan ends by means of the share-out among the ruling parties.

It is clear from these examples that an alternative policy cannot limit itself to demanding a little more attention to and finance for culture. In fact it is a matter of taking decisions that are bound to have major consequences throughout the nation's life and that therefore require a major increase in the public's commitment in this field.

The PCI rejects not only the idea that the state must represent ideologies or moral or religious attitudes, but also every tendency toward a public monopoly on information, education and culture. There are other elements and other channels (organizations, movements and public and private institutions as well as individuals) which can and must contribute, within the variety of sources, methods and substance, to the progress of ideas and knowledge. The role that the cultural industry is now acquiring is obvious too. But the state's spectacular shortcomings grant free scope to only apparently spontaneous tendencies, which do not serve the remedy delays and lacunae, increase social and regional inequalities and prevent the coordination of endeavors for the general progress of society.

Within the framework of this different cultural policy which must underlie a future democratic alternative, certain issues are of central importance: education, scientific and technological research, the informational system and the cultural and environmental heritage.

3--Mass education is one of the major democratic gains that is now involved in the crisis of the state and of society. Conservatives propose their own response to the malfunctions and difficulties of education: on the one hand, they portray as inevitable the decline of state education and therefore also the impossibility of educating everyone properly; on the other, they aim at recourse to old and new structures of privatization of educational processes.

This stance must be rejected, reasserting the fundamental value of state education, starting with basic cultural education, which still has to eliminate vast areas of social and regional discrimination and even illiteracy and semi-illiteracy. But this reaffirmation of the role of education cannot take place without substantial changes. The communists indicate three lines of endeavor in particular: the improvement of the educational capacity of state schools, starting from the lowest levels, by means of an integration with new means of information and communication and a greater utilization of new kinds of language (images, sounds, techniques, body movements, and so forth); the healing of the split between education and work and the elevation of the fundamental role in every production and social process of the acquisition of a higher degree of knowledge by all citizens; and a new conception of the role of education whereby it is regarded no longer as something exclusive to adolescents but as a structure that can be used in various forms throughout one's life so as to achieve a continuous educational process capable not only of understanding but also of forecasting, accompanying and stimulating development and that will guarantee the foundations of socialization and equality that can make personal individuality emerge.

4--In the field of scientific and technological research the basic point is to decide whether Italy should resign itself to becoming increasingly a country that imports technology, thus exacerbating its dependence on other countries and the distance between it and the more advanced countries; or whether, on the other hand, it should aim to have its own basis of autonomy--naturally within the framework of relations of international cooperation, particularly within the EC. This is a priority decision if there really is a desire to avoid the danger, often voiced with empty rhetorical proclamations, of "leaving Europe": It is not labor costs that create this danger but the low productivity and overall low technological level of our economic and social system. Therefore, within the framework of a democratic alternative policy, it is of fundamental importance to have a program that will grant this sector a prominence on an entirely different level from what has been the case hitherto. On the one hand, it is necessary to guarantee a high overall scientific standard, and this is the task primarily of the universities, which therefore need much more attention--for the implementation of reforms and strengthening of research--than has hitherto been granted by the various governments. And on the other hand, it is necessary to aim boldly at the identification of priority areas of endeavor in the field of research and innovation within which to elevate Italy's role.

5--So that Italy's informational system can fully exercise its role as a fundamental resource of the country's production and cultural life, and so that it can grow and fulfill all its potential as a factor of democracy and equality, it is indispensable that it be freed from the cronyist practices of the ruling parties, which tend to use it as an instrument for supporting the ruling classes. What is needed instead is a policy which, within observance of pluralism and freedom of expression, will have the following aims: to guarantee all citizens the right to accurate and pluralistic information representative of the country as it really is and to make available to the community the informational data and instruments necessary for socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress.

Our country's informational mechanisms are either badly organized or entirely disorganized. This is the unacceptable case with private television broadcasting, advertising and relations between the movies and television. There are virtually no regulations governing data banks. Partly with a view to introducing new informational and telecommunications technologies and the establishment of the envisaged public data transmission network, there is a pressing need to start a comprehensive organization of the entire system, bringing into line with this the legislation covering the areas already subject to regulations (this is the case with the law governing the Italian Radio and Television Corporation and the law on the cinema). There must also be regulations governing access to information memorized in data banks and there must be steadfast opposition to any attempt to establish private monopolistic or logopolistic positions within the mass media.

It also seems necessary to dispel the increasing imbalances between the production and consumption of information, between culture and entertainment, that are pushing Italy to the periphery of the world production system and nurturing an increasingly grave cultural, intellectual and political dependence. This demands a control of the resources that nurture the informational

system and the cultural industry, that will orient them toward a production specialization and enable them to compete in the international arena. And it demands bodies exercising democratic supervision over the various sectors of the informational system based on unitary principles, including: the citizens' right to complete and accurate information; a balance among the various information mechanisms to guarantee the entire system's greater scope and flexibility; pluralism of sources and channels of information; citizens' participation; a guarantee to those active in the field that professionalism and competence will count more than membership of parties or factions. Democratic supervision must be developed by integrating the functions exercised by parliament with the initiative of a broad network of grass roots movements and organizations.

6--A particular commitment must be devoted to the topics of the protection of the environment and of the historical and cultural heritage. The PCI draws attention to the fact that there is an exceptionally important problem here: on the one hand, because we are dealing with a resource that, in a country such as Italy, is of inestimable value, partly from an economic viewpoint and also because of all the activities that it initiates; and on the other, because this is a priority sector if we want to impart specificity to the objective of a different quality of life. Therefore the rapid development, especially among young people, of the movements for the defense and optimization of the cultural and environmental heritage must be considered a very significant factor.

7--Giving real importance to culture, education and information also means granting scope, within the functioning and administration of the institutions, to the abilities, energies and knowledge that exist in the country, thus establishing between decision-making and duties the relationship that has been increasingly lacking.

The strengthening of democracy needs this too: There can be no real democratic development without an awareness of the real problems and their implications, without an extension of the capacity for action and without a general heightening of critical awareness.

From this viewpoint too it is necessary to smash the logic of cronyism among the parties and pressure groups and to assert the need for rigorous observance of abilities and skills, so that the link between science and political decision-making, between the development of culture and the efficiency of the democratic system, is established as indispensable.

The questions of the autonomy of culture and of the cultural institutions is therefore crucial: they must be protected, in their functioning and in their management, from the prevarications and cronyism characteristic of the present power system.

#### IV--Institutional Reform

1--The crisis of the state is more profound in Italy than elsewhere. We are not the only politically democratic capitalist country whose state structures



seem largely incapable of resolving the problems of developed and complex societies, reflecting the entire breadth of society, asserting public interests over old and new ruling powers (financial power, the military-industrial complex, the hidden decision-making centers, the corporative potentes, and so forth). There is a general crisis of modern states, exacerbated by the burden of foreign decision-making centers, primarily economic, which exert a decisive influence on state decisions and even modify factors of national sovereignty (currency, production orientations, communication and information systems, and so forth).

Especially in a country such as Italy, all this should have elicited a strong capacity to reform and update the state and public administration. Instead the action taken has exacerbated all the elements of crisis within the institutions and of inadequacy within the state machinery. The major public services (health, welfare and education), which absorb most spending, are in a serious condition, often exasperating for the citizens. Increasingly worrying degenerative elements are emerging in public life. The P2 [Masonic Lodge] has demonstrated how high a clandestine power center could reach. The mafia and Camorra have established themselves as outright parallel criminal power centers capable of ruling substantial areas of the country and aspects of production and social life.

2--It seems clear that the blockage imposed on the political system has made a decisive contribution to producing this crisis. The discrimination against the communists, preventing any change, has gradually led to a deep deterioration both in the institutional mechanisms and in the state, given that the DC system of power was constituted as an interpenetration between the DC and the state, between the government party and the state, distorting the functions and responsibilities of each.

This is the source of the particular gravity and extension of the corruption in public life. And it is from here, from the establishment of a system which has often defended itself by illegal means, that practices which conflict with a proper democratic method stem and are rooted: the lack of openness in decisions, the uncertainty and confusion in responsibilities and powers, the cronyist sharing out and occupation of the institutions, the claim of impunity and the refusal to tolerate controls. This has brought about a real privatization of fundamental aspects of the state and the public sector. It has crushed vast technical and professional energies, increased inefficiency and waste, eroded the relationship of trust between the state and the citizens and opened the floodgates to the establishment of hidden centers of power. In addition there is the fact that public administration at all levels is one of the areas in which no serious reform has been introduced, and this has had serious consequences for the functioning of the whole state.

In the light of these internal and international phenomena which characterize the state crisis, many of the proposals which are being bandied about for tinkering with the institutions seem limited and misleading. This is not only because they are based on ulterior motives and are the result of incidental party calculations but because they do not tackle the real problems.

I

In fact the emergence of an alternative which would break the deadlock in the political system is a necessary condition for improving and renewing the institutions. No institutional reform alone can ensure the resolution of ills and contradictions which, if they are to be tackled, need a new political leadership and a new social lineup.

However, it is obvious that the political question does not exhaust the institutional subject.

3--The way of overcoming the state's inadequacy and inefficiency cannot be the one suggested by those who uphold the inevitable restriction of democracy in complex societies like the advanced industrial societies and consequently demand that powers be concentrated in the executive. In fact this is an old solution. There are many examples of backwardness, malfunction and paralysis generated precisely by forms of government which are not supported by adequate democratic controls. Transforming parliament purely and simply into a body for ratifying the executive's decisions can only increase bad government, parasitism and waste and certainly not the state's democratic efficiency.

However, there is a requirement on which this line tries to play, expressing it in an unfruitful and dangerous way. The requirement is that of an effective government capability.

The novelty of the institutional reform which we are proposing lies in the combination of efficiency and participation; the Italian state needs greater popular consensus and also greater capacity to make decisions and function.

This presupposes two conditions:

I--There cannot be greater efficiency without establishing a new relationship between political decisions and competence. The function of politics is not past but the function of a policy which is incapable of continually consulting the sciences and using them systematically certainly is past.

II--However, since skills and science do not provide unambiguous answers the choices must be assumed with full collective awareness: and this, therefore, requires an openness which at present does not exist in the decision-making process and scrupulous information of the people's representatives and of all the citizens; that information is at present very far from being well-founded and correct (budget figures, statistical revelations, use of information systems, public radio and television announcements and so forth).

Thus a modern institutional reform cannot relate solely to parliament, the government and their reciprocal relations. It must take place in all the functions which the state has assumed. The real running of the economy, the role of science and communications and education systems are the ground on which a truly modern left must now be established.

Thus the PCI is proposing not mere adjustments but far-reaching reforms for which it is not necessary to radically change the constitution. Quite the

reverse: the fundamental basis of our democratic system continues to be that laid down by the constitution, from which the basic inspiration must be developed.

The essence of the constitution lies in the originality of its democratic foundation. In it the definition of the rules and institutions of political democracy, the recognition of and respect for minorities (political, religious, territorial, ethnic, linguistic and so forth) and the protection of dissent take the form of advanced principles of solidarity, social relations and the prevalence of public interests over private interest.

4--This is the reverse of a faint-hearted democracy. The more possible it is to struggle with determination against democracy's enemies the greater is the certainty of freedom, rights and social justice.

Democracy must be able to defend itself against phenomena like terrorism or, on a different level, the secret organization of crime and against degenerative and intolerable forms of the political struggle itself. This is the significance of the communists' firm line on terrorism: it has been decisive in the course of the past few years in which Italian democracy has had to withstand the dramatic trials of an attack aimed at breaking democratic legality. The successes--major but not definitive--achieved in the struggle against terrorism must not make us forget that the crisis of democratic legality is still acute, as is also proved by the fact that the manifestations of mafia violence and organized crime have greatly increased in some parts of the country. This is the premise for any consideration of the state and the institutional sphere. A state which cannot guarantee the security and elementary rights of its citizens renounces its main function.

The constant growth of the criminal powers has now become an internal challenge to the political system and the state. The vast capital accumulated primarily by the infamous drug trade has increasingly made organized crime an economic power which acts as an extremely strong element in the deterioration of civil, political and state life. The former clients of some parties or sections of parties have, in many cases, become today's bosses, wielding money, influence and votes. The hidden centers of power are also spreading and prevailing in proportion to the malfunction of public administration and of the elected bodies themselves. There is no doubt that the mafia army's recruitment is easier the more instances of social disintegration emerge and extend, and that, therefore, it is impossible to separate the struggle against organized crime from the more general problem of overcoming the social and political conditions of so many parts of the south and of the metropolitan outskirts. As was the case with terrorism this does not remove the need for an effort to spark off mass mobilization and the need for legislative, political and repressive measures frequently specified by the communists and only partly adopted so far. To that end it is necessary to ensure coordination and greater professionalism in the state bodies responsible for the citizens' security: first by fully implementing the provisions of the democratic reform of the policy.

Above all in independent, professionally competent, incorruptible and none-the less authoritative magistrature.

Any form of political control over the magistrature must be firmly rejected. Judges controlled by the majority coalition, whatever their formation, give no guarantee either to the citizens or to the democratic system. Instead the full operation of self-government by the magistrature through its council, freed from minor questions which hinder its functioning, must be guaranteed. The magistrature's independence must also be guaranteed by a reform of the judicial system which has among its characteristic points the rotation of the top posts and component functions of the court of appeal and by new regulations for disciplinary responsibility which rule out any possibility of interference by other powers in the magistrate's function.

But the magistrature cannot have its full constitutional role unless the present serious inefficiency is overcome by reforms of the codes--the reform of the penal procedure code is particularly urgent--and by measures for the southern and metropolitan area offices which adapt the legal response to the citizens' demand. The length of proceedings is one of the main causes of the tragedy in the prisons, where 70 percent of the prisoners are defendants awaiting judgment--a situation which not only produces injustices and distrust of the legal system but aggravates all criminal phenomena.

5--The very defense of democracy needs the most accurate possible representation of social and political demands. Thus we rule out electoral laws which lead to a drastic reduction in representation or the direct election of the president of the republic, which would change the delicate balances among the power centers laid down by our constitution.

However, it is vital to pose the problem of the channels of political participation and of a more correct relationship between the parties and the voters, creating conditions which favor selection more on the basis of competence and less subject to the mechanism of patronage (for instance reviewing the system of preferences or expanding the electoral colleges).

The problem of faithful representation of society, however, cannot be limited to a discussion on electoral laws. The problem of information has become increasingly decisive. Without accurate information and without constant expansion of knowledge there can be no real and full exercise of the powers of choice offered by democracy. Democratic control of the public information system becomes a central point for the functioning of democracy.

6--Once representation has been democratically constituted, the place in which not only the minorities but all the elected representatives can monitor and influence the decisions determining the government's directions is, and should remain, the Parliamentary Assembly, as the constitution states.

The responsibilities for the country's present difficulties rest not on parliament but on the majorities. In fact parliament's power are now seriously undermined and at times thwarted by the cronyist method which turns the government members into a conglomeration of ministerial fiefs, encourages

the proliferation of corporative by-laws, increases the abuse of emergency decrees, spread the network of public bodies and hence increase bureaucratization; and also by the invasion of extranational powers and by an internal network of parallel or hidden power centers which shift to other centers decisions on questions which are fundamental to the people's life.

Thus an institutional reform should aim to increase parliament's capacity to equip itself to influence the fundamental guidelines of the economy, foreign policy questions, the future of science and national culture and the major issues of justice and the social services.

In order to give opportuneness and clarity to this effective function of leading the country we propose that a single house be set up. This would make it possible to greatly speed up the decisions and at the same time to avoid the excessive multiplication and duplication of seats and of instances of political and social negotiations, as happens with the present bicameral system with an obvious increase in corporative pressures. The one-house system which we are proposing would also bring about a useful reduction in the number of parliamentarians and the concentration and growth in power of departments, and greater rationality and modernity in parliament's structures and organizations.

In a single house it would be possible to extend the commissions' legislative powers, speeding up the time taken to produce legislation. Giving equal protection to the minorities' rights and drawing a useful distinction between the commission's work and that of the plenary sessions. Thus the plenary sessions would be able to concentrate on the more important decisions, be they policy decisions, legislation or control decisions. In this context we propose that legislative activity itself be concentrated essentially on the major outline laws and laws establishing principles. To attain these objectives it would be possible to envisage the appropriate merging of the parliamentary commissions which at present mirror the government ministries, to give them not only greater speed of decision-making but more capacity for knowledge and coordination. It is essential to increase parliament's sources of knowledge and thus also the means, apparatuses and powers at its disposal precisely because without that knowledge it is not possible either to legislate better or, especially, to increase and augment parliament's real power of control over the state's activity and accounts and over the implementation of the laws.

7--The communists propose a reform of the characteristics and structures of the executive. We do not want a weak executive: on the contrary, we have in mind an authoritative government capable of acting as a real interlocutor for parliament. The kind of government that has prevailed over the decades has lacked authority precisely because it has been conceived and formed on the basis not of real program agreements but of a distribution of posts and powers. These governments thus became a kind of party delegation and a group of separate ministries, each characterized by the partisan bias of whichever minister occupied it at the time.

To combat such practices and methods, which have seriously hindered the progress of laws and political decisions and which have led to spectacular instances of internal squabbling, we propose a reform of the very structure of the government, by means of a merger of related ministries so as to achieve the necessary coordination in the major sectors and to permit the prime minister to perform a proper leadership task. It is possible to envisage transitional government structures. That is, structures designed for specific programs on which the government wants to concentrate its action. The formation of the government could thus acquire consistency and flexibility and be linked--organizationally too--with the aims that it sets itself, which makes it even more necessary to fully implement the principles laid down by article 92 of the constitution concerning the choice of ministers in accordance with criteria of ability and competence, rather than the balance of power among the parties. To this end we are in favor of procedures that will enable parliament to pronounce itself not on endless lists of laws and measures, whose timescale and effects it is impossible to calculate, but on well-defined and limited programs. Such a modification of methods and structures could ensure a new operative and effective collegial leadership role on the part of the premiership, in which connection the communists have submitted a specific bill.

With a view to the correct functioning of the government there is a pressing and unavoidable need for rigorous discipline controlling political justice in connection with ministerial offenses, with the elimination of the present committee of inquiry, which has granted impunity to ministers and their freedom from the correct functioning of justice.

The reform of the executive must be accompanied by a radical regeneration of the public administration. The state machinery constitutes a decisive factor in the realization of any plans for reform. In the past they have often revealed a mediation of interests different from the orientations envisaged by legislation. The manipulatory and corrupt use of the machinery by government forces has increased their irrationality and internal counterpositions and has weakened their sense of belonging to the democratic institutions. The administration can, however, be a strategic factor of public intervention in the economy and society. But to this end we demand the reform whose initial characteristics have already been outlined. It will be essential to abandon an administration based on individual acts in favor of an administration based on programs, which will streamline procedures and elevate the role and function of the leadership and of the use of the machinery. This also means smashing the elements of loyalty to corrupt practices, restoring full dignity to public employees and establishing a new relationship between the administration and the citizens.

The strengthening of efficiency and the advancing of the democratization process is all the more important to the armed forces, which provide indispensable support for the country's independence. Following the positive reform of the "law of principles," the communists are committed to ensuring the continuation of the process thus begun and the start of a substantial reform of the draft so that it serves not only as effective training but also contributes to young people's professional training.

8--The reform of the central institutions can only be successful if accompanied by a determined development of the decentralization process, from the viewpoint both of allocating powers and resources and of the efficiency of the decentralized institutions: decentralization is a fundamental issue in tackling the crisis of the state and in assessing its capacity to meet the needs of a modern society.

If the tendency toward a return to centralism prevailed, essential needs and public and social services would be suppressed, there would be a negation of the role of the local and regional government system essential to the revival, on new bases, of a policy of democratic planning, economic management and rational use of resources. The result would be a reduction of democracy and of efficiency.

If, however, the aim is a real expansion of the democratic foundations of the state and a democratic and efficiency administration, then it is indispensable to complete the transfer of power, functions and resources to the regional and local governments, which is a precondition for developing abroad and direct participation by the citizens and social forces in the formulation of decisions and in the management and supervision of the social services and public functions.

New problems exist in the administration of the major cities and in all municipalities. Especially in urban situations, major unresolved issues, new phenomena of underprivilege and, at the same time, new demands for culture and social services, and the pressure in the direction of aggregation make the municipality the essential reference point for the modification of society and for reinforcing the relationship between the citizens and the institutions.

However, a centralist and conservative offensive is underway against local governments (municipal and provincial) that have--especially in the case of leftwing administrations--shown themselves to be the part of the state most sensitive to the workers' and citizens' real problems and most able to meet the new material and cultural needs.

To repel this attack there must be a reform of the municipal councils based on the recognition of the municipality as the first stage in the unitary organization of the republic and on the provincial government's role as an intermediate body--for planning and coordination--between individual and related municipalities and regional government and the reform of local financing, which will guarantee adequate and certain financial resources.

A new thrust to decentralization cannot take place, however, without allowing regional administrations to express the major potential for innovation that has hitherto been largely frustrated by centralist resistance. This demands, among other things, a critical exchange of views on the solutions, difficulties and prospects of the experience in regional government. Not only because there are--especially in the south, in regions with a DC or center-left majority--scandalous and intolerable situations or regional institutions paralyzed by crises of indefinite duration (which therefore necessitate proposals and specific obligations laid down in their regulations), but also because there must be a stocktaking of the regional administrations over the 10 years and more since their establishment and as they are now.

In several regions major gains and achievements have been made. However, there has not been a general reorganization of government. Central government has resisted and has remained essentially unchanged. Indeed, it tends to constrain regional autonomy, partly through the link between the central and regional administration.

The regions, including the special statute regions, have not been put in a position to play an incisive national role with respect to the country's fundamental options because of the failure to introduce real democratic planning and a reform of the central administration and the ministries, while their capacity for autonomous planning is nullified by intrusive legislation that to a large extent ties up the majority of their resources, even down to details.

However, substantial changes are needed within the regions themselves. It is essential that the regions in general do not exercise administrative activity directly but entrust it to the municipalities, thus avoiding both the establishment of parallel administrations and the superimposition of responsibilities and tasks; that the complex of sectoral and often parasitic bodies that has survived and grown around the regional governments be eliminated, especially where the power system centered on the DC is most widespread and oppressive, nurturing processes of fragmentation and corporativization.

In particular it is necessary to progress beyond the legislation and instruments of extraordinary intervention in the southern regions--primarily the fund for the south, which has given a negative performance in its 30 years and more of activity and which conflicts with the requirements of an active role for the local government system.

9--These observations draw attention to the fact that institutional reforms cannot be considered and put forward as a separate technical factor but must be considered in their full general political significance, closely interwoven with their substance and with political options.

They are more likely to produce a satisfactory result the broader the citizens' democratic involvement, that is, the further their political participation is extended. The principal bodies of participation are, and remain, the political parties, which have been and must remain the backbone of Italian democracy. To impart a new impetus to their role it is essential that every political force be encouraged and urged to step up its own interconnection with society so as to perceive its movements and demands. This means combating the parties' interference in functions other than their own and, at the same time, a commitment to emphasizing their genuinely ideological and political role.

However, the parties are not the only form of participation or, above all, of collective aggregation in the country. The various levels of institutional participation, such as neighborhood councils, must not obey purely political rationales or alignments. Moreover, the institutional bodies hitherto gained do not cover the entire range of participation.



There is now a dense fabric of associations, cultural movements, voluntary organizations and cooperative or self-managed production or service bodies that constitute what could be called a "social sector" of intervention that identifies neither with direct public administration nor with the private sector. And this is the case both within the context of the social services--welfare, health, consumer protection, social rehabilitation of the handicapped, sports activities, tourism--and within the context of culture and information. Receptivity toward the thrusts and growing demands in this direction optimizes the overall growth of society and facilitates the citizens' shouldering of responsibilities.

Participation is thus enriched with new forms. It becomes a form of stimulus, proposal and supervision vis-a-vis the representative bodies, which remain responsible for decisions and their implementation, both in the case of joint administration, partly via the instrument of the agreement between the public authorities and the various organizational and voluntary bodies, and in the case of direct self-management within the context of public planning options.

This free arrangement of forms of aggregation and organization within society can produce the expression of qualitatively new needs and trends, which the rigid market influences tend to conceal and which no kind of planning, however enlightened, is always able to predict. There is therefore a need for a new line of action to protect and promote, partly by legal means, rights of organization, including at the national and regional levels, partly in the wake of existing experiences, such as the "charters of rights."

#### V--Italy's International Role

1--In a fairly delicate and complex phase of the international situation in which the aggravation of many crisis factors and the dangers of a stepped-up arms race are countered by new possibilities for movements and initiatives to revive the major objectives of peace and development, it is necessary to make a serious review of Italian foreign policy which is all too often passively aligned with the Washington administration's positions.

Italy is not a great power but it is one of the world's leading industrial countries and enjoys the great prestige which it draws from its exceptional historical and cultural heritage. Its geographical position places it at one of the key points in international relations, on the borders of East and West, between North and South, in the heart of one of the world's main strategic areas--the Mediterranean. For all these reasons Italy has the opportunity and also the need to play a much more clear-cut and effective role than it has hitherto had: both to avoid a deterioration of the situation, in which it would easily be involved because of its position, and to launch new developments.

Therefore the central themes of Italian foreign policy should be: defense of peace and national independence, European commitment, improvement in East-West relations, new relations with the developing countries, defense and exploitation of the presence of Italian labor, technology and culture in the world.

2--The main requirement is that of active commitment by Italy, in all international bodies, for the resumption of the detente process and the peaceful solution of the problems posed, while respecting peoples' rights and independence. This is the only way which makes it a practical possibility to fix the objective of gradually overcoming the world's division into opposing blocs. In our view this is an essential even though difficult objective. Bloc politics and logic are a burdensome legacy from the cold war which hinders the development of relations of peaceful coexistence and civil collaboration among states. Indeed this determines, both in the West and in the East, the spread of a free political and social dialectic which guarantees each people the freedom to choose its own methods of development. It is time to think of a new world order.

The Italian communists think that the existing alliances in Europe are the result of the whole postwar history and are part of a balance which Italy should not alter by unilateral gestures. But this balance can be pushed toward a positive development provided the conditions which made it necessary are removed, in other words provided we succeed in gradually overcoming bloc logic. Italy can and should work within the Atlantic Alliance, and NATO and all other international bodies, with its own proposals and initiatives for peace and cooperation among all European countries and between Europe and the whole world. Therefore Italy should not indulge in economic and commercial wars or in political and ideological crusades for which it would be the first to suffer; and it should push the Atlantic Alliance's political and military commitments out of its geographical area. In this connection, public opinion is still not sufficiently aware of the risks which Italy is already running.

Membership of an international alliance cannot conflict with the autonomy and independence of each country within the alliance. If differences and conflicts arise they should be discussed and solved on the basis of equal dignity among the allies without a subservient attitude (which, however, is very frequent in the Italian Government) toward the strongest ally. The political and economic "dispute" in relations between the United States and Western Europe should be tackled by the European governments on a firm line and with as much cohesion as possible. Moreover the problems of disarmament and security cannot be left solely to the superpowers either. Hence the demand for participation by the Europeans in the Geneva negotiations on theater nuclear weapons: Europe would be threatened most by the extremely serious danger of a negative outcome to those negotiations.

Because of its geographical position Italy is vitally concerned in fighting any approach which tends to view the Mediterranean area essentially in terms of strategic opposition. Such an approach leads to positions which, like those which have recently been voiced in very dangerous tones even within the Italian Government as regards defense policy, call for a greater rearmament of our country, to make it into the alliance's "southern bastion." These positions must not only be rejected because of their danger but must be actually fought by means of an active commitment to improve relations among the Mediterranean countries in all spheres.

3--However no defense and security policy is conceivable unless we openly fight a military strategy which, in case of armed conflict, condemns the old continent to be the first and main theater of a nuclear war, dooming it to massacre and the destruction of its civilization. Security for Italy and for the other European countries is in more danger than ever before. It can be guaranteed solely by a change in current strategies and by an agreement on gradually decreasing levels of nuclear arms and on a return to a policy of detente and cooperation.

While respecting the necessary balances and the legitimate and reciprocal security requirements, Italy must therefore make its contribution to attaining certain objectives in the various bodies. The most urgent objective, around which a very vast movement is building up, on the basis of the U.S. pacifist forces, is the freeze on the current nuclear arsenals as the first step for their balanced reduction. It is also the most realistic objective if we want to push the current negotiations between the USSR and the United States to a positive outcome. The agreed and balanced creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe would also be important. It is in this framework that we are opposing the deployment of the missiles in Comiso. And meanwhile--as is also being demanded by more than 1 million Sicilians, by the peace movement, by a broad section of public opinion and by prominent authoritative people--we are supporting the proposal to suspend work on constructing the Comiso missile base: By that choice our country would be telling everybody to regard as a priority the negotiations for effective arms limitation and reduction measures, with respect to decisions which, if implemented, would dangerously push forward the race for new nuclear arms. A moratorium would be a major contribution on the current negotiations on the Euromissiles and would show our country's desire for the deployment of the new so-called theater missiles to be avoided and for their numbers to be reduced until they are completely dismantled in both the West and the East.

Many different and large forces in Italy and in other countries have recently taken up the challenge in the struggle for peace and disarmament--a vast autonomous peace movement, large sections of the catholic world and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, men of science and culture, trade unionists and a broad lineup of political forces. There have even been very significant developments in the United States: like the vote in various states in favor of a moratorium, the growing opposition to Reagan's request for funds for the new missiles, the resurgence of the movement in the universities and the catholic bishops' pronouncement in favor of a nuclear arms freeze. The new peace movement's great strength lies in the fact that it is making its own requests both to the West and to the East, indicating disarmament objectives which do not favor either bloc, in the commitment to overcoming the world's division into military blocs and in asserting the link with the struggle for the independence and freedom of all peoples.

The Italian communists fully share this movement's inspiration, stress its originality, the variety of its driving forces and its autonomous nature and are pledged to make their full contribution to expending and sustaining it.

4--Western Europe is experiencing a crisis of unprecedented nature and dimensions. For a long time after the last war it aimed primarily at integration among the most developed capitalist countries and at a neocolonial-type relationship with the Third World. Neither aspect of that policy is valid any longer. Especially since the Reagan administration's victory, the conflict between Western Europe and the United States have increased and have affected many aspects of reciprocal relations. Furthermore Europe has failed both to progress along the path to its unity and to develop a really new initiative toward the underdeveloped countries. In this connection the mistakes and limitations of the social democratic governments have also proved serious.

The communists confirm their conviction that Italy should work within the EEC with active commitment for greater economic and political unity in Europe and among its democratic and progressive forces. Italy should be an active element in European building. But that building cannot make progress without a reform of the institutions and of the community, primarily giving real powers to the elected parliament, and without more advanced forms of economic and political integration. It is necessary to realize that Europe and its leftwing forces are facing very difficult tasks: first of all the problem of initiating a new type of development and hence a far-reaching reorganization of social life and of the political and state orders. Only Europe as a whole can do this provided it radically reforms its economic and political structures. And only the left--overcoming its divisions which also relate to the choice of the European ground as a basis for its own initiative--can be the protagonist of a Europe which is autonomous, economically strong, committed to a policy of detente and capable of contributing to building a new international economic order.

5--The communists believe that it is in Italy's essential interests to play a leading role in the North-South dialogue, that is, in promoting more effective political and economic cooperation with the developing countries. This means not only using the instruments of the state in this direction, but also facilitating the involvement of the entrepreneurial forces, cooperatives, scientific and cultural institutions and voluntary organizations. This is not only a political and moral duty imposed by the need to combat famine and underdevelopment and to resolve one of the contemporary world's most explosive contradictions, but a vital need for our own economic and social development. The PCI has already formulated and submitted to governments and political forces of several countries the proposals contained in our draft "Peace and Development Charter." Within this framework we attach particular importance to Italy's relations with the Asian and African countries of the Mediterranean. It is necessary to achieve an attenuation of tension in their region, to work for a reduction of the weapons deployed there, to prevent the Mediterranean from being a nuclear weapons area and to nurture cooperation among all the littoral states. Our country really can be one of the major links in a dialogue involving Europe, the Arab world and black Africa.

For this reason too Italy must make an individual commitment to a positive solution of the Middle East crisis, which requires the restoration of Lebanon's integrity and independence, official recognition of the PLO and of the Palestinians' rights to their own state and the defense of the Israeli state's

right to exist. In this area of vital importance to peace there must be a return to a negotiated policy involving all the forces concerned, the major powers and the United Nations. Only this can provide the maximum guarantees of security to all the states of the region.

A major contribution to the positive evolution of the Middle East situation can come from the action of the European leftwing forces aimed at facilitating a dialogue involving the PLO, the progressive forces of the Arab world and the democratic and facifist forces that are asserting themselves in Israel. Consistent with their entire past, in which they have always been in the vanguard in the battle against all forms of racism, the Italian communists consider the struggle against antisemitism not only a necessity in the action for peace in the Middle East but a permanent duty. They therefore reject the blackmail of those who point to a just criticism of Israeli Government policy and solidarity with the Palestinian people as a form of antisemitism.

6--A particularly negative aspect of Italian foreign policy hitherto has been the entirely inadequate action to defend and optimize the presence of Italian labor, technology and culture abroad. Italian emigrees, whose situation is now made more precarious by the attacks on employment and also, in some countries, by xenophobic campaigns promoted by reactionary circles, have been left too often and too long virtually deprived of any effective assistance, either social and economic or cultural and educational. There has generally been an absence of public action within the context of technological and scientific relations that could constitute useful support for business activities. Within the cultural field, there has long been prevalent an interest in events of a provincial or commemorative [celebrativo] nature, while there has been a failure to correspond to the growing demand everywhere for a better knowledge of our language and culture. Basically the prevalent viewpoint has been short-sighted and narrow, unable to understand that, on account of its history, its cultural heritage and technological and scientific opportunities, it is primarily on this plane that Italy can assert its own role in the world.

It is the communists' belief that a democratic alternative government has a major task to perform in this field, both to defend the interests of workers, technicians, entrepreneurs and cooperatives working abroad and to broadly develop technological, scientific and cultural cooperation with all countries and to ensure a broader presence for our culture.

## VI--The Future of Socialism

1--How does the future of socialism appear at this century's end? The reactionary and conservative forces throughout the West have over the years made a major effort of ideological and political restoration. Proceeding from what is a real crisis, an attempt has been made to question and to challenge not only the historical experiences of socialism and the significance of decades of struggle, but also the very hope that it is possible to build a different kind of society. Neoconservative thought has tried to spread the belief that there is no real alternative to capitalism and its laws, and, moreover, that it is impossible and nonsensical to plan deliberately for the future.

Nevertheless, the vicissitudes of our time have shown that the world's problems cannot be resolved unless we start to emerge from the rationales of disruptive economic and social mechanisms, from oppressive power structures and from the actually destructive tendencies that contemporary capitalism embodies, in other words, unless we challenge the present state of affairs, bringing into play a real movement capable of changing the "structure of the world."

We do not want to return to the analysis of facts which, within the complexity of their influences, indicate the need to consider new structures of society. The tragic reality of famine, poverty and the destruction of physical and environmental resources shows that the capitalist machine can no longer be put forward as a universal model and in any case is unable to resolve the agonizing contradictions of the vast area of the world in which 80 percent of mankind will soon be living. But capitalist development is in a state of crisis in various ways even in the most highly industrialized countries. This is not only because of mass unemployment and a broader social crisis that is creating new forms of alienation, exploitation, isolation and inability to satisfy human needs, but also because here too the facts reveal a profound need for new modes of life, production and consumption. The new scientific and technological revolution opens up hitherto un hoped for opportunities for a government aware of the production forces and of their development. And it makes it obvious that only determined progress toward a new democratic kind of government and a broader and more direct form of citizens' participation in the administration of the economy and of society--typical objectives of socialism--can prevent such resources from being used to further concentrate power and to widen the gap between rich and poor countries.

2--This all prompts our belief that a new phase in the world struggle for socialism is beginning--a phase in which the issue of a transformation in a socialist direction in the points of highest capitalist development can and must be closely linked with the struggle movements and with the aspirations to liberation, justice, human and social progress of the poor and oppressed masses of the vast area of underdevelopment.

This is what we mean when we talk about a new internationalism. And it is this outlook that forms the context of all the communists' formulations concerning the subject of Eurocommunism and a "third way." These formulations--elaborated and defined in the theses approved by the 15th Congress--are put forward as the internationalist duty of the European workers movement so as to emerge from the narrowness of Eurocentrist, corporative or purely propagandist viewpoints, so as to help seek effective answers to the crisis of modern societies.

Progress must be made beyond the models and experiences realized hitherto. In the West the crisis of capitalist societies involves even the social policies and conceptions that have been behind the experiments in social democratic government. It is no coincidence that the European socialist and social democratic parties are now involved in a debate, from which a realization is emerging of the need to transcend the limitation of a strategy that was based essentially on the redistribution of income, without carrying out any decisive changes in the organization of economic power and in the control of accumulation processes.

But the entire experience of that past and, even more so the tasks of the present, the universal need to utilize the aware participation of broad masses demonstrate that the struggle for socialism cannot progress unless it is reflected in an increasingly complete establishment of democracy on both the social and political plane. Socialist ideals themselves must be enriched and must not adhere to experiences belonging to an entirely different historical, cultural and social context. Particularly in the most highly developed countries, a range of objective and subjective phenomena are prompting the rediscovery of values fully present in the classics of revolutionary thinking but partly forgotten, and which concern not only the organization of the state and of society, but the individual, his freedom and his ability to fulfill himself. The assertion of these values is one of the aims of a transformation in a socialist direction.

This suggests some very significant conclusions regarding the way in which we Italian communists conceive the transformation in a socialist direction of the state, the economy and society. The aspiration to equality cannot be a tendency toward uniformity and conformity but must be reflected in a struggle against injustices and abuses, the opportunity for everyone to assert themselves and respect for diversity. The necessary demand for new production relations must imply not statism and bureaucratism but a strengthening of individuals' responsibilities within a framework of economic democracy, self-management and democratic planning. Political democracy, which can of course be pursued and implemented in various institutional forms, is a universal value for us. Not only must the emancipation struggle not conflict with the democratic guarantees, but it must serve to enrich each individual's political democracy and freedom.

3--It is from this angle, from the viewpoint of a force determined to struggle to open up new paths and to provide new outlooks for a real movement of forces and ideas capable of changing the world in a socialist direction that--as we said last December and last January--we consider exhausted the propulsive thrust of a historical experience of socialism, the one characterized by the political, state and ideological model realized in the USSR. This does not at all imply denying and obscuring the explosive value of the October Revolution, the step forward that it signified for all mankind and the impulse that it gave to ideas and movements that still exert a profound effect. Neither does it imply ignoring the complex experience, the gains and the innovations that exist in the East European countries. The world has moved forward and has changed partly thanks to those historical events. But mankind is now confronted with huge and unprecedented problems--involving survival itself--that can be successfully tackled only by proceeding from the fact of the innovative nature of the needs and thrusts emerging from the peoples, albeit in various ways, not only in the countries of the capitalist West and of the Third World but also in the socialist-type countries.

The real answer to these problems--the most positive and most advanced one--therefore does not lie in closing one's eyes to reality and to its tragedies or even in pronouncing antihistorical abjurations. It lies in looking ahead and playing one's own part completely.

This is the context of our critical deliberations on the states and societies of so-called real socialism. They are not all the same, which means it is futile to formulate abstract definitions (especially in a situation in which socialist-type experiences are spreading in various parts of the world under the most diverse conditions and in the most unexpected ways). Within them there is a clash between reformist thrusts and strong conservative resistance. On the whole, however, it emerges that an authoritarian and rigid politico-ideological model and conception of government--in some cases actually imposed from outside--not only harms democracy and suppresses social and ideological needs, but ultimately hinders production development. It is therefore a question of a crisis, not of mere delays. In other words, a tangle of contradictions has been created which, as the facts show, unless resolved by taking the path of serious and thorough reforms of the system, will cause degenerative processes and traumatic--even tragic--ruptures.

The Italian communists long ago chose the path of looking at these situations without ideological preconceptions and self-recriminations, proceeding from the facts and with an effort of objective analysis, which can of course always be discussed, updated and corrected. This corresponds to an essential duty to the working class and the people. It is also the only way to try to make a positive contribution, to encourage the tackling of problems which, if allowed to fester, could lead to explosive crises in the heart of Europe.

The entire Polish affair confirms the validity of the assessments and analyses contained in the PCT Directorate's December 1981 resolution and the PCI Central Committee's January 1982 resolution. It was correct to state that the decision to introduce martial law not only harms essential and constituent principles of the socialist and communist concept but could not resolve the substance of the crisis. Indeed, it is exacerbating them, threatening to create an insoluble situation. The facts confirm that the path to follow is that of a national understanding based on recognition of the workers' rights and of the plurality of forces that represent Polish society.

4--We are aware of the harshness of the worldwide struggle, of the interests involved and of the political, economic and class forces in play. The relevant fact now is the tendency of the U.S. ruling circles to assert their supremacy by whatever means--from the arms race to economic and financial pressures, from interventions against democratic forces, especially in Latin America, to the encouragement of military aggressions, in the Middle East, South Africa and elsewhere. But one must also ask oneself why the USSR has partly been losing the great capacity to influence the orientation of world public opinion, including in the West, that it managed to exert even when it was economically and militarily weaker, as in the years following the October Revolution, during the World War, during the period of the major peace and and detente initiatives that followed the 20th Congress.

Undoubtedly there is the influence of actions such as the military occupation of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, which not only violated essential principles of independence but did not aid the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle and helped to hinder the detente process.



In a world in which the bipolar balance is still very important, the USSR performs a role as counterweight to the aggressive and imperialist U.S. thrusts. It must be stressed, however, that this role tends to become obscured if what is ultimately set against the U.S. policy of supremacy are acts of power politics set within the context of a struggle to consolidate and to extend zones of influence, even by use of weapons, in open violation or to the detriment of the sovereignty and independence of states and peoples. The duty to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of every nation and every state applies to every part of the world, and an attack on this principle, wherever it may occur, is not only to be condemned but likely to jeopardize detente. In the long term it is a losing policy too. The facts show that, by dismissing or, worse, suppressing various national characteristics and interests an exacerbation of contradictions is caused even between socialist-type countries, to the extent that we have had to witness instances of war between them.

The case of relations between the USSR and China is monitory. As long as there prevailed between these two vast realities the rationale of power and of a rigid choice of camp (either with me or against me) the harm to detente, socialism and the development of the Nonaligned Movement was enormous. Another path should have been pursued--the one indicated by us (even when we openly disagreed with Chinese policy), namely the recognition of parity, autonomy, independence and mutual respect, the comprehension of each others' arguments and interests. It now seems that relations between the USSR and China are improving at last. This would be very positive. But it also shows how correct it was not to obey the calls for excommunications and how necessary it is always to safeguard our autonomy of assessment and conduct.

The PCI cannot consider any return to old "choices of camp." But this does not mean in the least distancing ourselves from the real conflicts on the international plane in which we have acted and still act on the basis of our character as a force opposed to imperialism and struggling for the peoples' freedom and independence. To combat the new forms of imperialism (the penetration and establishment in commanding positions of major multinational enterprises, the exploitation of Third World countries' resources and the imposition of models of subordinate development, relations of "unequal exchange," maneuvers to control the flow of finance, the monopoly on new technologies with a view to domination and so forth) there must be a broad and varied movement which, by virtue of its substance and component forces (the nonaligned countries, the European and even U.S. democratic forces and so forth) cannot identify with a choice of camp, still less with an endorsement of the USSR's state policy.

5--The Italian communists pursue a new and broader kind of internationalism and reject all rationales of subordination, isolation or ruptures. All their action worldwide is guided by this criterion. The PCI, which has long rejected the method of ideological ties and excommunications, has always tried to shoulder its duties of solidarity with whoever is struggling for freedom. We are now called on to step up our support for the struggles of all peoples and liberation movements throughout the world fighting for self-determination, national independence, emancipation and social progress. And at the same time

we are fighting for minorities' rights, against all forms of racism, against all manipulations of social, religious and philosophical differences to split the peoples and the workers. Over the years the PCI has enriched its international contacts, always stressing its autonomy of action and assessment in a spirit of research and of clear rejection of any interference. Loyal to these principles, we have developed, and intend to develop increasingly, without ideological or disciplinary ties, constructive relations with communist, socialist and social democratic parties, with catholic and Christian forces and forces of other ideological inspirations, with the national liberation movements and with all currents throughout the world that assert aspirations of peace, progress, democracy and socialism.

But the task that involves us most directly, in the interests of the working classes and of the future of our continent, is the rebuilding of the West European workers movement. This is not an easy objective within hand's reach. However, the prospect of a process of rebuilding the West European workers movement has been reopened in recent years--not in the sense that there is a specific possibility of organizational mergers between socialist and communist parties but in the sense that a regenerative quest has gone on within the various components of the European left, bringing about convergences and divergences not attributable to past outlooks. The differences of viewpoint and of attitude no longer follow the old confines, straddle both alignments and can be resolved through a unitary dialectic and a new overall growth of the European workers and leftwing movement.

By moving in this direction the European workers movement will also be able to exert a positive influence on all developments in the international situation, including the crisis of the East European countries and of the Nonaligned Movement. And this is also a specific way of facilitating a reversal of trend in relations between the superpowers and more generally in East-West relations.

6--One effective test bench of internationalism is the struggle for peace and a new world economic order. But it is not enough to proclaim this objective. It is necessary to succeed in mobilizing and causing a convergence among various peoples and ideological currents, manifold social strata and particularly young people.

Therefore action for peace cannot be considered the monopoly of any party or social class, any state or bloc of states, any international alignment, and this implies the need to support and defend the peace movements' full autonomy from all hegemonic endeavors, recognition of the value of the efforts and initiatives of the states, organizations and institutions, irrespective of their orientation, that can contribute to the defense and establishment of peace. Only thus is it possible to create a powerful current of international opinion capable of influencing states' and governments' policies.

The Italian communists, who are struggling for peace with all their might, contributing their own ideas and initiatives, intend to promote the broadest contacts with all forces committed to peace and disarmament, not only in Italy but on a European and international scale. They bring to this movement their profound conviction that the peace struggle combines with the struggles to bring about a new international economic and political order.

Vast human tragedies--deprivation, malnutrition and death by starvation for millions of people, the extinction of entire ethnic groups--are the monstrous prize of the inability of the ruling forces to build more equitable relations among the peoples, to use the extraordinary resources provided by scientific and technological gains for mankind's shared progress. This inability does not only constitute a burden for the Third World peoples; the lack of development is now having repercussions even on the economically most advanced countries and is exacerbating all international relations. No future transformation of Western societies, no progress in the labor world and for the cause of freedom can be established unless the mechanisms for the exploitation of the oppressed peoples and for the plundering of the resources of entire continents are smashed.

The advance of the working classes and the West and even the safeguarding of the role of European civilization are now inextricably linked to the solution of the great tragedy of underdeveloped and the advent of a new world order.

#### VII--The Regeneration and Development of the Party

1--To tackle the present situation and build the alternative the communist must make a new effort to regenerate the party and its conception of policy and organization. There is need for a qualitative change both in gaining a greater planning and government capability and in achieving a more open relationship with society.

In the Western countries there is a crisis of the parties within the framework of the more general and complex crisis of societies and states. This phenomenon exists in Italy too. The tendencies to transform the parties into electoral or government machines have already demonstrated their negative results with respect to the vitality of democracy in several countries. The parties in Italy that have viewed their role essentially in terms of the occupation of the government have paid the price of a diminished ability to put forward proposals and to maintain real democratic relations with their grass roots, thus increasing mistrust toward the parties and institutions. It is necessary to react by reasserting the character and function that the parties must have within our democratic system and that are enshrined in the constitution itself--as instruments for the organization of democracy and for the citizens' participation in the definition of the orientations of nations policy, as permanent and active links between society and the institutions.

The PCI, because of its history, its organizational forms, its class roots and its ability to formulate and propose ideas, has succeeded in maintaining, and intends to reassert, its character as a party that organizes the masses' participation in the policy to transform society and the state in the direction of socialism, that encourages the growth of a broader critical awareness and that promotes the formation of new forces for the country's leadership. However, the party is faced with the partly unresolved cultural and political problems posed by the changes of methods and production arrangements, by the more complex organization of society and the institutions, by the emergence of mass media, by the characteristics assumed by consumption,

by the changes in widespread culture and behavior and by the emergence of new needs and new forms of poverty. Even the resurgence of old evils manifests itself in reality and in people's minds in different forms from in the past. All this modifies people's attitude to politics and even the contexts within which politics must contend.

One of the communists' major contributions to Italian democracy has been the building of a mass party rooted in society, universally committed to tackling and trying to resolve even the smallest problems, proceeding from there to the country's general problems. Togliatti's idea of a "new party" freed the party and the sectors of the working class that looked toward it from the dangers of ideologism and propagandism so as to make it an active and creative element in a specific day-to-day policy, all the more consistent with real conditions the more it was nurtured by major ideals and plans for reform.

For the defense and development of the mass party today it is necessary to take account of the profound changes that have taken place in the classes' social structure and way of life.

A substantial change has also occurred in the way in which the political party is increasingly conceived: parties are no longer considered the exclusive political actors even when their essential function is acknowledged. The diversification of society and its very decomposition and fragmentation create not only a multiplicity of political demands, but also--both negatively and positively--a multiplicity of political forums and actors.

The Italian communists have long abandoned the idea that the party must be the supreme regulating element with respect to the options of each individual and of everyone, as it may have appeared at the time when mankind's fundamental values had to be defended against tyranny. The greater the progress made, the stronger the assertion of and the desire to assert a government role, and the more society has developed, the more the party has to provide a specific and continuous demonstration of its validity within its proper context: on the one hand, with the precision of proposed solutions to the problems of government and of the country and, on the other, through its ability to rally the workers and people's masses to the struggle and endeavor for innovation and transformation, thus also avoiding the decline of politics into the forms of the worst kind of empiricism [praticismo].

Although the party's organized strength is impressive and solid (the decade closes with a substantial positive record: membership in 1971 was 1,521,637 and in 1981 is 1,714,052), since 1976 (membership in 1976 was 1,814,317) there has been a halt in the trend to expansion and a contraction, while weaknesses and difficulties in several organizations, especially in the south, have remained and have even become exacerbated. Of course the main influence has been exerted by political factors stemming from both objective and subjective causes--the vicissitudes of the socialist-type countries, the effects of the economic crisis, the failure of the solidarity policy and the resistance of the DC power system, especially in the south. But much influence has also been exerted by underestimations of the party's value and of the mass policy and resistance to seeking broader and more open relations with society and to regenerating political approaches and forms, especially with regard to the broad masses of young people.

A dismissive conception of politics is harmful to every party and to the life of democracy, but it would be particularly harmful to a party such as ours, which puts itself forward as a force for change, regeneration and transformation. We must succeed in dealing with problems such as the defense of nature and the environment; quality of life and culture; women's status and rights; the conditions of children and elderly people; the scourges of narcotics abuse and crime; and the new forms of underprivilege and isolation. Each of these topics implies for the communists not only a commitment within the democratic institutions but also the organization of and participation in mass political movements and initiatives.

Links with the masses also imply a greater ability on the part of communist organizations and party members to act within and to influence the network of mechanisms and public and social structures within which specific roles are not represented and played and so many public decisions are specifically implemented. Without this ability to maintain links with these new forums of deliberation and decision-making--political, cultural and administrative--the link with so many mass demands will be lacking. This implies that our organizations must step up the struggle for a thorough democratization of important public and social mechanisms and try to work on plans within which a multiplicity of objectives, forces and roles are expressed.

As far as we are concerned, politics can only be regarded in terms of commitment, participation, involvement and supervision by the broad people's masses. This is the "mass party" that the communists talk about--a force of awareness, not domination, a tool for liberating action, not for securing a petty partisan advantage.

The very emphasis that the communists place on the idea of the mass democratic struggle refers not only to a harsh practical necessity (that is, the only tool that can be used at moments of acute social and political conflict) but to a need for involvement and participation. The mass struggle is certainly not the only form of political participation, but it is through it that millions of people have become aware of themselves and of their social existence.

To encourage political participation, in whatever form, it is in any case necessary to use the continuity of links with the workers and the people as a whole. Party membership itself depends not only on a general political proposal but also and above all on the ability to encourage initiatives in connection with the various experiences and of needs and interests that demand expression.

The PCI has continued to maintain the center of its strength within the working class (over 40 percent of members). This class character must be resolutely safeguarded and strengthened; but at the same time it is necessary to seek broader support from workers in the cities and the countryside, women, white-collar workers and the working middle classes. A decisive issue for the very future of the party is the ideological and political winning over of the broad masses of young people. This is the entire party's task, and this must be realized without further incomprehensions or stubbornness.

It is also necessary to consider specifically the aim of strengthening, and in some cases rebuilding, the Italian Communist Youth Federation. The effort of regeneration undertaken, the definition of new objectives of struggle and the positive results achieved in some areas in a series of mass initiatives for peace, against the mafia, the camorra and narcotics abuse and for jobs and educational reform show that it is possible to achieve a major organization of young communists.

2--The radical elimination of all extremist and dogmatic view of the party, the full establishment of the idea of the party as a "part" of society and the state and of its nonconfessional nature suggest and require an open and dialectical relationship with the most diverse representations of society. We have made a major contribution to the formation of this fabric, to granting autonomy and strength to the workers organizations and movement (trade unions, cooperatives, and so forth) and to expanding and diversifying democratic aggregation. We have succeeded in achieving, especially during the seventies, fruitful relations, through a debate and exchange of ideas, with the women's emancipation and liberation movements and have derived from them a major enrichment of our ideological and political deliberations. This commitment must be consolidated and developed as a fundamental aspect of a future transformation.

We must become increasingly aware that the new and complex problems stem from the multiplicity of movements and aggregations among the citizens and from the new characteristics that they have assumed. Over the years, apart from a decline in extremist stances of attack against democracy and the working class, there has also been a crisis of some of the major positive movements that developed during the seventies. Nevertheless, new movements have also emerged. First and foremost the peace movement, which now has very different characteristics from in the past; but also movements which, though sometimes displaying characteristics of discontinuity and bias, often present in an untraditional way demands for regeneration, new needs for culture, for different relations among people, for the elimination of injustices and discriminations and for a new balance between mankind and nature.

We fully acknowledge and want to help defend the autonomy of even temporary mass movements and aggregations: the communists have been and remain opposed to the idea of a party formed essentially of a leadership structure that possesses and embodies the so-called "area" organizations or movements, instead of aiming at a separate autonomous organization. We are therefore opposed to all forms of partisanship of the mass autonomous organizations and associations. We believe, on the contrary, in a constant mutual dialectical exchange in which everyone--parties, movements and mass organizations--acts according to their specific function and can both give and receive. This means that the Communist Party and individual communists can and must aim to help, even more intensively than in recent years, to strengthen existing associations and movements and to encourage the creation of new ones. But at the same time the party must be able to understand and to contend with, within a lucid exchange of ideas and in the light of experience, the tensions and demands that a movement or an organization represent, thus enriching its own policy and culture.

The validity of this orientation with regard to relations in general between the party and organizations and movements must nevertheless not obscure the new and complex problems that have emerged from them, particularly that of relations between the parties and comrades working within the trade unions, other mass organizations and the various movements. The party is not everything, but this does not at all imply envisaging a process of estrangement or separation, a kind of division of camps. For instance, one certainly cannot imagine a trade union movement indifferent toward economy policy, just as one cannot imagine a workers party indifferent toward the problems of workers' pay and conditions, the development, plurality, autonomy and democracy of the organizations and movements and the communists' active presence within them impart a new dimension to the party's own function, which is to assert and exalt in every social, civil and cultural battle the idea or and need for a general program of transformation capable of taking account of needs and demands that emerge autonomously in the various fields of society. But this is a very difficult problem, not a fact, and it requires a discussion also of organizational approaches and forms that will ensure that mutual autonomy and respect within the distinction and diversity of roles do not result in mutual indifference or contraposition.

The problem to be tackled, therefore, is how the communists' presence and commitment within various organizations and associations and in all forums of political, social and cultural activity can really enrich the entire party's sensitivity and help to define the political blueprint shared by all communists. This blueprint is not fixed once and for all and cannot be imposed from above: it must itself emerge, be tested and updated in relation to real conditions and the multifarious social and cultural experience that involves the communists too. It is the party's task to continue more vigorously and persistently its collation of experiences, its definition of political orientations on which to unite the communist forces as a whole and to make the party live and act as a united political body.

3--Openness to society must also imply a full recognition, elevation and promotion of spheres of responsibility.

We proceed from the idea that only a major force of regeneration and transformation can adopt an entirely open and receptive attitude toward science and the technologies, because it does not need to impose an illogical or distorted use of knowledge for the sake of perpetuating privilege, submission and domination.

The party's completely nonconfessional nature means not only that full membership of it and leadership posts within it are open to men and women of various ideological backgrounds, both Marxist and non-Marxist, Christian and non-Christian, but also that the communists see as a decisive reference point the free research into the sciences and nature, mankind and society.

Of course, this conflicts with any attitude of indifference or ideological shallowness: the very idea of our nonconfessional nature stems from a specific effort of thought and implies the values that are constituent elements of the party's plans and political blueprint and the critical

awareness of historical development and of our heritage of ideas, as defined by the 15th Congress. We want to be, and are, a party based on policy, without any ideological forms of discipline, but the communists' plans is formed in accordance with the nonconfessional method--which is the living lesson of Marxism--of the critical, historical and scientific analysis of real conditions and at the same time on the basis of the criteria of values deriving from the tradition of the Marxist-inspired workers movement and from the combination of stances that characterize the Italian communists' policy. The accentuation of the party's characterization by its program therefore requires freedom of research and cultural exchange, the broadest contribution of ideas, knowledge and deliberations, and at the same time it also requires the highest degree of shared responsibility, solidarity and joint commitment with respect to the party's fundamental ideological and political orientation.

For this very reason, apart from the public forums which we desire for establishing new and fruitful relations between science and politics, the party must also investigate new forms of links between political leaders and specialists, between the party and research.

One significant innovation could be recourse to forums and instruments that will grant the opportunity to put forward proposals and to shoulder responsibility to the manifold forces that represent specialist ideas and knowledge and that, even from outside the party, consider the PCI the party best suited to make full use of their skills and experiences by virtue of the interests, ideas and policy that it represents. The present effort to expand and to open up the research centers promoted by the PCI is particularly important in this direction.

It is also necessary to reflect on the experience of the center of the party, within which a multiplicity of forums of research and debate have developed (councils, Central Committee commissions, meetings of peripheral leaders and so forth) without, however, always succeeding in guaranteeing unitary and convergent work on the part of political leaders and specialists and their sharing of responsibility. Therefore it is necessary at the same time to eliminate a number of often duplicative forums and to introduce really unitary and incisive tools, specifying their functions and powers for formulating ideas and proposals. Within this context it is also necessary to assess possible innovations with regard to the composition, powers and duties of the Central Committee commissions.

4--The development of democracy within the party is a prime necessity. No party experiences a greater involvement of all its aspects in political initiative and work. However, we need a more intensive and open-minded democracy to expand our organizational strength, to understand real conditions and to define political and program proposals for the sake of the efficiency of our struggle and our initiative and for the party's political unity. This democratic development must affect the organizational structures; the leadership bodies, their formation and functioning; the forms of internal communication; the process of defining proposals and decisions; and the relationship between political options and initiatives.



The most prominent problem is that of the new terms in which the relationship between democracy and unity presents itself. The method of democratic centralism, which the PCI has developed in an original manner during its history, has had various expressions and constant innovations in relation to the historical and political conditions and the party's role. The communists' internal democratic method has led to positive results partly because it has succeeded in evolving continuously; now is the time for new and incisive steps forward.

Clearly unity is and remains a fundamental value for our party--a necessity and guarantee, more topical than ever, of the party's strength and political autonomy, of the consensus necessary for the establishment of a democratic alternative in the country's government.

The right kind of unity and the kind that is desired is the kind that is built and established within the broader democratic process. Freedom of debate and of comparison of different ideas and stances, the right to express disagreement and the formalization of decisions, partly by means of voting, are fixed points in the party's life and for the congress. What is essential from this viewpoint is the clarity of the political characteristics of the dialogue and the struggle and therefore the rejection of manipulations and personalism, bigoted attitudes, group aggregations and splitist practices--practices that people, including in other parties, claim in various ways to want to transcend, warned by experience.

New methods and principles must be implemented to impart the utmost possible lucidity to the process of forming political options and decisions. What is needed is a more extensive and greater political influence on the party of party members (which again raises the issue of the fundamental role of the section) and leadership groups in the broadest sense. Greater efficiency must be imparted to internal information and communications, to the two-way circulation of ideas, experiences, proposals and the various possible options, thus fully realizing the indications of the January 1981 Central Committee session.

In this connection there must be an extension of the practice of consultations, and new and more comprehensive forms of relations between the central leadership bodies and the leaders of the peripheral organizations must be tried--for instance by holding more regular meetings of federation and regional secretaries, imparting to the latter in particular the characteristic of periodicity and continuity. Within the federations full use must be made of assemblies of section secretaries, to whom particularly important topics can be submitted before the deliberations of the federation leadership bodies.

The tasks and powers of the leadership bodies elected by congresses (the Central Committee and regional, federation and section committees) must remain unchanged, avoiding practices of centralization within the executive bodies. It is essential to the party's democracy and to the lucidity of its activities that the bodies elected by congresses be responsible for political synthesis and the final decisions and that they tackle and resolve whatever controversial issues and differences of stance may emerge within the various executive bodies.

Relations between the leadership bodies and the communist groups within the democratic institutions are of particular importance to the party's government role, its democracy and unity. It is quite clear that communist elected representatives are an integral and essential part of the party's leadership forces. Within the general context of the party's political orientations, they have specific tasks and responsibilities of deliberation and leadership with regard to all the problems and decisions of the individual institutions. This must not be regarded in terms of endorsement or mere support from the party, which is required to display a capacity for initiative and relations with people even on issues affecting the administration of public affairs.

The party can depend on a great multiplicity and wealth of leadership forces in all fields of social, political and institutional activity: they must be optimized and used to the full, striving to improve their standards, extent and mobility.

There is no doubt about the need for a solid fabric of full-time leaders, which is essential in a party with important government tasks which intends to perform continuous mass activity. For their sake it is necessary to stimulate and provide better access to training and cultural revision, a multiplicity of working experiences and alternation of posts. But it is also necessary to make greater use of professional skills and the real leadership qualities of so many communists voluntarily involved in political work within the institutions, the organizations and the mass movements. It is a matter of organizing the leadership bodies' work so that more scope can be given to comrades who, while continuing their activity within the factories, production activities and the professions, have skills and perform functions as political leaders and so that more systematic recourse can be made to forms of participation and shared responsibility on the part of a large number of cadres. The training and selection of communist leadership groups and elective representatives at the various institutional levels must, however, be the subject of constant attention, because it is harder than in the past to provide a positive answer to the demanding tasks facing the party, the essential tools to this end could include more highly qualified party schools and training initiatives at all levels of our organization.

We have tried to respond to the profound need for democracy with the organizational policy of regionalization and decentralization indicated by the Central Committee and confirmed by the regional congresses. This approach must be confirmed and continued. But the present system of party bodies (Central Committee, regional committees, federations, zones and sections) displays problems in its overall functioning and interrelationships that must be tackled.

At the present stage it seems out of the question that the solution of such problems, the objective of greater efficiency, streamlining and democratic development, can be achieved by eliminating one of the current organizational levels. Indeed, each of them corresponds not only to a particular level of the state and of the various institutions but also to more complex economic, social and cultural factors and correlations, as well as to the party's own requirements.

It is therefore a matter of pursuing that objective primarily by means of a greater capacity for communication and cooperation among the various bodies, a clear allocation of tasks and functions and a further regeneration of working and leadership methods.

It is therefore necessary that the zones, whose strengthening and consolidation must be tenaciously and unitarily pursued, be increasingly characterized as an aggregation of sections, as tools designed to guarantee their cultural and political growth, as forums for the formulation of joint proposals and policies on the issues that emerge within their particular areas and for the leadership of resulting initiatives. The federation, which are responsible for political leadership of all party organizations within their territorial area, must regenerate the very formation of their leadership bodies and their leadership methods and adapt them to the new factor of the zones, to the need to strengthen and develop them and to the full optimization of their contribution in terms of deliberations and initiatives. Federations in the major metropolitan areas must be reorganized. The regional committees have the task of and responsibility for political leadership within the region and decisions on regional policy, which they must perform on the basis of more intensive and flexible relations with the party directorate and by increasingly involving the federations in the discussions and decision-making processes.

What is essential above all is an endeavor aimed at ensuring a new impetus to the local and factory sections' capacity for initiatives. The vitality of the section is a prime necessity for a party that wants to maintain and develop its mass characteristics, establishing positive relations with its membership and supporters, facilitating a more constant dialogue between elected representatives and the citizens and opening up to society. This is how the central role of the section must be understood, though it must not remain a *petitio principii*, but must imply the establishment of the powers and decision-making responsibilities of members' assemblies; a commitment to increase levels of information, awareness and political and cultural capacity, especially on the part of their leadership bodies; the utilization of all the comrades' energies according to the inclinations and abilities of each, so that militancy and activism can be fully developed in all fields.

The party's regeneration, democratic vigor and unity are also connected with moral standards and political habits. It is not a matter of claiming superiority over others. But what is certain is that in view of the phenomena of disintegration, social decline and isolation of individuals present in contemporary societies, particular value is assumed by the qualities that have been typical of the Communist Party member and leader--responsibility, a spirit of sacrifice, rational discipline, the intelligence and courage of the major and innovative political options; and the interest, care and precision devoted to the organization of work and of the most specific and modest activities, such as the personal commitment to recruitment, to distributing and gathering subscriptions to L'UNITA and the work to guarantee the party the necessary financial resources, in the awareness that self-financing is an essential precondition of the party's class and political autonomy.

It is on the basis of an open and rigorous political and organizational outlook that the PCI can and must increasingly assert itself as a major modern workers and people's party, as an essential force for the regeneration and democratic and socialist transformation of our country.

CSO: 3528/47

## PCI DISMISSES COSSUTTA'S CONGRESS PROPOSALS

PM130933 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 30 Nov 82 p 14

[PCI drafting committee statement: "Nonapproved Amendments to Congress Document"; first two paragraphs L'UNITA introduction]

[Text] We publish below the amendments to the preparatory document for the congress rejected in the voting by the Central Committee and Central Control Commission. On each amendment an opinion was expressed by the committee that drafted the document, followed by a debate and a vote.

The opinion of the drafting committee concerning the first amendment submitted by Comrade Cossutta was as follows:

Certain observations regarding method and others regarding substance should be made about this amendment. This amendment, which was never submitted during a month's work by the preparatory commission, does not refer to what is proposed to replace. The full use of the internal democratic method which characterizes us Italian communists demands among other things, an effort to establish and observe precise norms; without clear rules valid for all there can be no democracy. We all jointly agreed to accept the method of amendments. There is a corollary to this: namely that every amendment should concern--modifying, adding or challenging, as the proposer chooses--the substance discussed in the text that it is wished to replace or correct.

This first amendment from Comrade Cossutta is proposed in place of the few lines of section VI devoted to indicating the emancipatory value of our conception of socialism. An amendment to these few lines should therefore concern the specific topic discussed in them. Is it right or wrong to state clearly that for us Italian communists, in line with the classics of revolutionary thinking, these values of democracy, freedom and equality are constituent elements of the socialist conception?

The proposed amendment does not concern this specific point and broaches another matter. In fact it discusses, in very general terms, the "process" for a socialist transformation and the working class' role within this process. Our theoretical stances on this process were defined by us in the theses for the 15th Congress. The amendment therefore relates not to the document in question but rather to the thesis that we all jointly approved

at the previous congress and that we all jointly agreed to embody in this document, believing in the full validity of what we specified at that time in connection with the process of socialist transformation in general and the working class' role within this process.

It should also be stressed that precisely because those theses retain their validity, in several sections of this document we were able to specify--not abstractly but specifically and politically--the working class' role in the transformation struggle that we believe must now be waged. No objections were made to these stances, contained mainly in the section on alliances and in the one on the struggle for a new kind of development.

For all these reasons it would have been possible to conduct a debate on whether or not this amendment should have been proposed. However, the drafting committee did not request it and does not request it now to prevent any possible idea that it wants to exclude the adoption of a clear stance, including on matters of substance. In fact the text in question repeats some of our entirely valid proposals but adds elements that distort them.

It is clear to us that it is always necessary to "examine and elucidate," as is written here, our policy on thorough economic and social changes. This is exactly what we are trying to do with this document. If there were other proposals to put forward in previous sections (on the alternative, the economy, the institutions, culture and foreign relations) concerning specific necessary and possible changes, then such proposals should have been submitted. They were not submitted then and have not been submitted now, which means that Comrade Cossutta neither had nor has any alternative proposals to put forward.

There is therefore an element of absurdity in the request to insert at the end of the document a statement of the abstract need for "examination and elucidation." Especially since this amendment maintains that our formulations on economic and social transformation "require internal examinations and elucidations on which our credibility as a real alternative government force entirely depends." This means that at the end of the document we should acknowledge that we lack credibility as a "real alternative government force" because we lack "examinations and elucidations" regarding economic and social changes. And, apparently, we lack any credibility at all because "our credibility is entirely dependent" on such examinations. This theory, often presented against us by our political adversaries, does not reflect the truth and does not reflect the long and hard work (always open to improvement, of course) that we have carried out hitherto. With this document too we are providing evidence of our ability to specifically propose not only requirements of elucidation and examination but policies of serious transformation, as a government alternative.

Second, as far as we are concerned, the working class' role is already clear in the theses for the 15th Congress and also in many parts of this document and in its entire inspiration. The way in which it is formulated in the amendment, however, reaches conclusions that would exclude us entirely from a correct analysis. Indeed, no modifications were proposed by Comrade

Cossutta when the working class' role today, in the present situation, was specifically discussed in previous sections. What is proposed now is a viewpoint that ultimately rejects not only a careful analysis of the changes within the composition of society and, within this framework, of the changes within the working class, but even Lenin's warnings about the existence of the stratification that he called "workers aristocracy" and that helps to encourage so many current phenomena among the workers forces of a country such as the United States and in other developed capitalist countries.

The problem remains that of the relationship between the workers' impetus, which is an original and decisive element of the social emancipation process and of its translation into a consistent transformations plan based on the consensus and participation of the broadest workers and peoples masses. If it were possible to talk in terms of an abstract "nature" of the working class, viewed in isolation from history, there would be no need for so many struggles and endeavors on the part of the organized workers movement and, within it, our own party. To work to ensure that the working class exercises its rightful leading role implies not indulging in uncritical and even manipulatory exaltations, but identifying specific and positive objectives, as our party has done and still does, so that it can fight to resolve, together with its own problems, the contradictions of society as a whole.

CSO: 3528/47

## REJECTED AMENDMENTS TO PCI CONGRESS DOCUMENT

PM101027 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 30 Nov 82 p 14

[Rejected amendments to PCI Congress document whose publication was requested by their proposers]

[Text] Cossutta's Amendments

Rejected amendments submitted by [PCI Directorate member] Comrade Armando Cossutta to Section VI ("The Future of Socialism") of the document.

First Cossutta amendment (two votes for, seven abstentions):

In point 2 replace the last paragraph starting "This suggests some very significant conclusions..." with the following:

From this viewpoint we confirm the fundamental beliefs that have for decades been part of our party's theoretical heritage. That is, that the model pursued by the countries in which socialism has hitherto been realized cannot be transferred to and adopted in Italy for emerging from capitalism and building socialism.

The indivisible struggle for democracy and socialism can only develop in the West on the basis of the levels of democracy that have been gained here under the decisive thrust of workers and people's struggles. This heightens our awareness that there can be no complete socialism without complete democracy. But it also makes us more aware than ever now that the very safeguarding of these democratic gains depends on our ability to work for the attainment of consistent and thorough economic and social transformations.

The particular conditions and prospects of the struggle for socialism in the West also makes us aware that the need for socialism here must also contend with its [socialism's] ability to express itself in forms that will really and positively transcend the degree of production and social development hitherto achieved within the capitalist framework. Our deliberations in this connection are of course nothing new, but they do require internal examinations and elucidations, on which our entire credibility as a real alternative government force depends.



The gravity of the present crisis places on the agenda the issue of Italy's and Western Europe's emergence from capitalism. Such a process cannot take place without a real breakaway from the pre-existing economic and social balances, such as those that have occurred, in our own country's case, primarily on the domestic plane, in connection with the workers' and social struggles and gains, and, in foreign relations, as a result of the increasing costs of oil and other raw materials, of which the Third World countries are particularly important exporters. Nevertheless, these events have not found a positive outcome in the only possible direction, namely thorough transformations to the capitalist organization of society.

This is the real "ford" in which we have remained and from which it is essential to emerge, confirming, without uncertainties or ambiguities, our role as a revolutionary party of the working class and its allies.

The working class preserves a fundamental role in the revolutionary process, which it derives from its nature as a fundamental force within the modern production process, within which, however, it does not have the opportunity to acquire privileged positions. It is therefore potentially able to impart a strong and universal egalitarian impetus.

In our view the egalitarian spirit is not reflected in the quest for an indiscriminate levelling-out of functions and social differences. It lies in each individual's assertion of a social role suited to his capabilities and in the recognition as a priority social aim of the satisfaction for all of individual and collective needs, starting with the most pressing and basic ones.

Second Cossutta amendment (four votes for, two abstentions):

In point 3 replace the first 13 lines [lines 1 thru 8 of ref] from "It is from this angle..." through "realized in the USSR" with the following:

As far as the USSR and the other European socialist countries are concerned, we will certainly not be the ones to underestimate the result of the modern development that they have succeeded in attaining outside the capitalist framework and its elitist rationale. Or the gains realized in those countries in the field of guaranteeing all citizens the right to work, freedom from poverty, health protection and high levels of education.

But neither do we intend to overlook or minimize the limitations of such experiences, as well as whatever delays and errors have occurred or may occur, particularly in the field of democracy and personal freedoms, but also in the economic field. Or the fact that in some of these countries such limitations, delays and errors are, for both objective and subjective reasons, more acutely apparent, to the extent that they have on several occasions resulted in instances of real and profound crisis.

This is why we consider it necessary that bold innovations be carried out in those countries, which will not only consolidate the gains realized hitherto but also develop them so as to provide a more positive answer to the very problems and needs created and highlighted precisely by the results hitherto achieved.

We believe that apart from the conservative resistance, there also exist the conditions and energies needed to restore vigor in those societies to the propulsive thrust that emerged from the October Revolution. In other words, to the break that it made, within particular historical conditions and forms, with the 1,000-year-old contradiction between the social nature and private aims of production.

To this end a decisive contribution can be made to the resumption of detente and to the advance of the process of socialist transformation in the West.

Third Cossutta amendment (three votes for, three abstentions):

In point 3 replace from "This is the context..." (start of third paragraph) through the end with the following:

The latest developments in the situation in Poland show that, though the crisis remains grave, it is not without prospects of a solution.

It can be resolved if the Polish United Workers Party fully recognizes and surmounts its undeniable errors by isolating the extremist tendencies and by carrying out, with the workers' consensus and participation a program of reforms that will safeguard and regenerate that country's socialist orientation and guarantee its international position.

Fourth Cossutta amendment (three votes for, two abstentions):

In point 4 replace from "but one must also..." (halfway through the first paragraph) through the end with the following:

Peace is facing its greatest threat since World War II from the present U.S. Administration's policy.

Its declared objective is to regain clear U.S. strategic and military supremacy over the RSFSR, to be achieved by means of rearmament program unprecedented in peace time, with which it is believed the USSR could not keep pace without placing its economy in dire straits.

In the immediate term the U.S. Administration is seeking superiority over the USSR by working on the hypothesis of limited and winnable nuclear wars. Foremost among these hypotheses is that of a nuclear war limited to Europe.

It has also announced its plan to use the entire U.S. strength for the sake of a world order that will perpetuate and even restore the capitalist rationale everywhere, in total contempt of the peoples' right to self-determination emancipation and development. Such a plan cannot be realized except by preventing the USSR from performing a world role.

All responsible, peace-loving and aggressive West European forces must converge in the initiative to promote a pressing and necessary return to the detente policy. And to ensure the establishment worldwide of a new climate of cooperation for development that will be promoted--primarily on the basis

of an understanding between the United States and the USSR--within the framework of a new boost to the prerogatives and functions of the United Nations, which have been progressively nullified by the policy of U.S. administrations.

None of the world's problems today can be compared with those of the threat of nuclear destruction and of the tens of millions of people who die of hunger every year. These both implicate the prime responsibilities of the policy of U.S. administrations--almost without exception--since World War II, marked by the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

All responsible West European forces must actively oppose the desire, carried by the Reagan administration to the most dangerous extremes, to make the United States a power capable of determining the world's future on its own.

The USSR has performed and still performs a role as a fundamental counter-balance to the U.S. imperialist policy.

The results in terms of development and power achieved outside the capitalist framework make it an insurmountable obstacle for any plans for the restoration and predominance of capitalism worldwide.

The responsible Western forces must seriously come to terms with this fact.

But the USSR too, as a force of peace, progress and support for the peoples' emancipation, must utilize all possible scope for initiatives likely to positively encourage the West's best and most enlightened forces. In the awareness that to safeguard peace and to tackle with adequate tools the vast and incomparably tragic problem of mankind excluded from development, it is not enough--though necessary--to counter and destroy the fabric of imperialism; detente, disarmament, internal regeneration and a shared commitment from the entire developed world are needed.

Following the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, more recently a serious disorientation has been caused by the intervention in Afghanistan, amid an international political situation characterized by a general process of destabilization of the Middle East area resulting from the victory of the Khomeyniist revolution in Iran and the tensions in the Arab world exacerbated by the Israeli-Egyptian separate peace treaty of Camp David, and marked by the Pakistani initiative backed by the United States and China, aimed at involving Afghanistan itself in the comprehensive anti-Soviet rearrangement of the Middle and Far East.

We hope that, with the support of all peace-loving forces, the talks begun between the Afghan and Pakistani governments for the normalization of mutual relations can, partly in relation to a rapprochement in Soviet-Chinese relations, reach a prompt positive conclusion that will enable the Soviet armed forces to withdraw from Afghanistan.

The fierce conflict of recent years between China and the USSR now seems to be moving toward prospects of rapprochement and normalization. on the basis of the recognition of parity, autonomy, independence, mutual respect and comprehension of each other's arguments and interests.

We can only express the hope that such a process will go ahead, in the belief that such an improvement in relations could lead to new and decisive conditions for the development of the struggle to defend peace and against imperialism throughout the world.

Fifth Cossutta amendment (two votes for, one abstention).

In point 5, replace from "But the task that involves us..." (start of second paragraph) through the end with the following:

But the task that involves us most directly, in the interests of the working class and of our continent's future, is the quest for a new and loftier form of unity of the West European workers and democratic movement. This is not an easy objective within hand's reach. Nevertheless, this prospect has in some respects been strengthened in recent years--insofar as a regenerative quest has gone on within the most varied components of the European left, leading to convergences and divergences no longer attributable to past outlooks.

There has certainly been no lack of positive elements in the reform experiences of the major European social democratic parties. But basically they have been, and still remain, basically connected with the persistence of capitalism, not to the aim of transcending it.

The present crisis of capitalist development now poses unprecedented problems for the social democratic parties too and therefore presents the possibility of more advanced convergences with them. But this requires an intensification and development, not a dilution, of our identity.

In any case there is nothing new about the PCI's testing of the workers movement's reformist tradition in our country against the fundamental lessons of Leninism. The most important of all these lessons concern the limits of capitalism's possible development and the party's revolutionary role--lessons which, however, have been developed in accordance with the values and experiences of struggle for liberation and progress that belong to our country's history and conditions. And ours is a country which, despite delays and acute contradictions, has nevertheless succeeded in developing to the extent of its present economic and social levels and levels of political democracy, within the capitalist framework, under the [words indistinct] of the workers and people's struggles.

To defend and develop the gains realized there is now clearly a need to emerge from capitalism.

Loyalty to our tradition--not historically repetitive, but creative and dynamic--constitutes the loftiest contribution that we, as communists, can make to a genuine revival of Italy and Western Europe.

Cappelloni's Amendments

Rejected amendments submitted by [PCI Central Committee member] Comrade Guido Cappelloni to section VI ("The Future of Socialism").

First Cappelloni amendment (three votes for, two abstentions):

In point 3 replace from the start through "...historical events" (halfway through first paragraph) with the following:

From this viewpoint, while the fundamental ideas and values represented by the October Revolution, far from being exhausted, obviously maintain their validity for all forces of progress and socialism throughout the world and therefore for us too, it is necessary to reassert the impossibility of repeating or reproposing the Soviet socialist model, especially in the societies of mature capitalism, particularly in Western Europe.

Furthermore, it must be added that, judging from the state of existing government arrangements and political and social relations in the USSR, there are evident limitations, delays and signs of stagnation and even crisis. Nevertheless there are in the USSR objective conditions and subjective potentials, not only material but also cultural and ideological, that lead us to believe that they can, by introducing the necessary thorough innovations and taking account of their historical experience, develop its capacity for growth, both from the socioeconomic viewpoint and from the viewpoint of the development of democratic life; and that they can enable it to make a stronger contribution than at present, together with the other revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world, to the further development and success of the struggle for socialism. On the other hand, it should be stressed that the world has progressed and changed partly thanks to the historical events of the October Revolution and the USSR's action.

Second Cappelloni amendment (three votes for).

In section 5, at the end of the first paragraph, which finishes "...democracy and socialism" insert the following passage:

Such relations with communist parties are based partly on the joint recognition of the October Socialist Revolution as the fundamental event of our era, which caused the irreversible end of capitalism's world domination.

CSO: 3528/47

POLITICAL

ITALY

PCI PAPER CITES, COMMENTS ON COSSUTTA OBJECTIONS

PM130937 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 1 Dec 82 p 6

[Text] of "Letter From Armando Cossutta on Published Amendments"; followed by unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear [L'UNITA Editor] Macaluso, I would like to express my surprise and reservations about the way in which today's L'UNITA presented my amendments to the congress document.

I am referring to the lengthy article that precedes them and presents the opinion of the drafting committee on my first amendment. I do not share its opinion, but this is irrelevant at the moment at least; whether or not one shares it is a matter of substance.

But there is a question of method here. Why was the drafting committee's opinion published?

In fact that opinion was expressed, albeit not in the same words, at the Central Committee session. But many opinions were expressed at the Central Committee session. And L'UNITA did not publish a report on any of the speeches, as was agreed.

Why, then, publish the drafting committee's opinion? Why, then not publish my opinion and the opinions of the very many comrades who spoke on this subject?

Who decided? The Central Committee decided that L'UNITA should publish only the documents approved and the amendments not approved and nothing else.

I therefore do not agree with the way in which these matters have been presented.

Fraternal greetings,

[Signed] Armando Cossutta

[Unattributed commentary] We publish Comrade Cossutta's letter with a necessary explanation. In fact in the final stage of the Central Committee session, when Comrades Cossutta and Cappelloni requested the publication of their rejected amendments, some comrades asked that the paper prefix the first of the amendments with a report on the assessments regarding the substance of that amendment and the reservations presented by the drafting committee about whether or not it should actually have been proposed, inasmuch as it was not relevant to the subjects discussed at that section of the congress document there seemed to be no objections to this request for a clarification and therefore there is no need to return to the proposal itself. Therefore there is no problem regarding the method, and this is confirmed by the fact that the statement regarded only that amendment and no others on which there was not only a debate but also an opinion from the drafting committee.

CSO: 3528/47

END